

The Nation.

VOL. VII—NO. 162.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1868.

FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.
TWELVE CENTS PER COPY.

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GEORGE STREET, 30 CORNHILL, LONDON, E. C., AGENT FOR THE RECEIPT OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

ADDRESS, PUBLISHER OF "THE NATION," BOX 6732, NEW YORK.

The Week.

THE present political condition of the Southern States we think generally favorable. By the promulgation of General Meade's order of July 30, three of the States lately in rebellion, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, are fully restored to the Union. The order announces that the military power vested by Congress in the district commander has ceased to exist, and that his orders have no force except such as the legislatures of the States may give them by enactment. We believe that every member of Congress from these States, except the two Georgia senators, and Mr. Christy, representative from the same State, have already taken their seats in Congress. Mr. Christy, it is said, is so bitterly hostile to the laws under which he was elected that he thinks of not claiming his seat; and it may be said, too, that he is so bitterly hostile to the laws that it is by no means improbable if he should claim it that he will claim it in vain. The Georgia senators are both respectable men in the prime of life, both "old line Whigs," both South Carolinians by birth, one a consistent Union man and the other, Miller, a strong Secessionist. It is charged that the Democrats who control the Lower House of the Georgia Legislature "sold out" to the Upper House, and agreed that if they might have one senator, they would let the Republicans have the other, and would also ratify the 14th amendment. These things have happened at any rate, however they are to be accounted for. Every other Southern State—except, of course, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas—is fully represented in Congress, and, on the whole, is well represented. There are men like Deweese, of North Carolina, and Bowen, of South Carolina; but, on the other hand, there is a large majority in the new delegations of honest and sensible men. The North Carolina delegation, for instance, will compare not unfavorably with that from almost any other State in the country. Louisiana is, perhaps, most unfortunate in her representation. In that State affairs are quieter than has been believed, though there is little doubt that General Buchanan—who is to be succeeded in October by General Rousseau—will be expected by the Legislature to lend his services to the administration of the new Governor, Warmouth, and that his services will be needed. Rousseau in October will have at his disposal part of the soldiers which Meade's order relieves from duty in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, but it is not the intention to denude those States of all United States troops. Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas are indefinitely out of the Union. We may add that the crops in all these States are doing well. On the other hand, since the failure of impeachment and the nomination of Seymour and Blair, some of the most impracticable of the Southern politicians, Hampton, B. H. Hill, old General Huger, and their like, are certainly doing a deal of wild talk, and many editors threaten war if—this or that is done or is n't. If—we should say—the Democrats in the North are ready to begin raising regiments; and whether they are ready or not each of our readers can learn with sufficient accuracy by enquiring of his next Democratic neighbor. The fact is, the Southern orators are, in their

usual dignified way, indulging themselves in their old trick of screaming at what they cannot help.

Special Commissioner Wells has published a well-meant but we think somewhat injudicious letter on the subject of the national expenditures. It was intended as an answer to the foolish exaggerations of Governor Seymour and other Democratic speakers in regard to our war and navy expenses in times of peace, and the cost of the Freedmen's Bureau. But it has too much the appearance of a white-washing document to have much effect, and in some of its statements it is actually damaging to the administration, as when he shows that the income of the past year exceeds the expenditure by thirty-five millions, without attempting to show what has been done with this sum, since it certainly has not been applied to the reduction of the debt. It seems to us that the proper ground for Republicans to take in relation to the financial management of the past is this: Great errors have undoubtedly been committed, but they were committed in good faith, at a time when public men in this country had only a very limited knowledge of the principles of finance, when the whole people were recklessly impatient of delay, and all but forced upon the administration a number of measures which every one now admits to have been injudicious. The remedy for our financial ailments is not to be found in any violent change of system, but in a firm and persistent reduction of expenses, the most economical management of public affairs, and a steady improvement in our system of taxation. That the Republican party is in earnest in carrying out these reforms recent legislation has abundantly proved, and with all the Democratic license of criticism and freedom from restraint they have not been able to suggest anything better.

It has been thought desirable that General Hancock should be made to declare—for himself and the War Democrats, of course—that he is not an enemy nor a lukewarm friend to Mr. Seymour as a candidate. He has, therefore, written a letter of the regulation pattern, and we cannot prove from it that his heart is not in the cause, nor that he would rather see Grant elected than Blair and Seymour. We are free to say, however, that the letter did not compel us to feel that the Democratic ticket was going to have in Hancock a very ardent supporter. But if it were, the fact would remain that it is among Southern rather than Northern soldiers that the ticket arouses enthusiasm. Mr. Sibley's farewell to his fellow-members of the Democratic State Committee of California throws light on the matter. And the press everywhere confirms the opinion that the New York platform and Blair's letter, followed as they have been by the Fourth of July speeches of Wade Hampton and other delegates—speeches that the *World* is compelled to call silly, and which the *Charleston Mercury* and the *Richmond Whig* condemn as "showing our hand too soon"—have drawn the old line of '60 and '61 between the two parties, and made Democratic success impossible. It daily becomes clearer that Mr. Vallandigham ought to have been left out of Democratic national conventions till 1868 at least, and that he is mistaken when he says that the fuel of the war is burnt out of the popular heart. He personally may be satisfied. He is to-day a "far-seeing statesman;" he has got for himself the party endorsement of his course during the war; General Hancock professes to give him the endorsement of the War Democrats; something has been done in behalf of the discredited resolutions of his love—those of Kentucky, of '98. But, gratifying as all this must be to Mr. Vallandigham and his friends, it beats the Democratic candidate in November, and Mr. Vallandigham's prophecies to the contrary prove that he is as bad a prophet as martyr, while the frequency and fervor of them seem to show that he has mournful forebodings.

[Aug. 6, 1868]

Mr. Rollins still retains his place at the head of the Internal Revenue Bureau, the President having perhaps made up his mind that the commissioner's tenure of office, as settled by the recent legislation in regard to his particular case, puts him beyond the reach of removal. Perhaps not, however; it seems to be as likely that Mr. Johnson wants very much to fill the place by the appointment of some near friend, which can be done if Mr. Rollins will quietly resign. Mr. Johnson must have known that Mr. Rollins, who has promised, and would be extremely glad, to make way for any honest and efficient man, would not make way for Mr. Perry Fuller. He must have known the same thing in regard to Curamings, a copy of whose indictment before a Colorado court—for dishonest use of public funds—has been in Mr. Rollins's hands for some time. Whether the office can be got for Mr. Cooper appears to be the question that is keeping Mr. Johnson busy, and not improbably the desire to get a favorable answer to it is what prompted him to amuse the Senate with unconfirmable nominations till that body left Washington, and the problem was given over to him, Mr. Rollins, and Mr. McCulloch to work out, undisturbed, in the recess. Mr. McCulloch's attitude in the affair appears to be this: that, to oblige the President, any man whom Mr. Rollins can be induced to accept—or any other man who can get the office—he will accept and support. Mr. Rollins—his most important subordinate, who should have had his hearty support—he has never supported at all. Indeed, there is no want of people to say—and a late letter of Mr. Rollins's does not contradict such a statement—that, next to Mr. Johnson, the man most responsible for the past and present bad condition of the Internal Revenue service is Secretary McCulloch—who likes his secretaryship very much. Mr. Rollins, it is understood, much as all reasons but public considerations urge his retirement, is pledged to keep his place in all events but two—the appointment of a man whom he thinks fit for the place, or, secondly, his forcible ejection by the President. Of this latter, however, there is not much danger; aside from the legal objection already mentioned, whoever should in that event be appointed by Mr. Johnson would certainly be ousted by the Senate, and not impossibly would hold his lucrative office no longer than till next month. To keep so important an office out of the hands of corrupt men would of itself be justification sufficient for the September session.

The gentlemen who have "the campaign" in charge have been paying rather more attention to Grant during the past week than to his antagonist. As for Colfax, we hear little about him of late, except that it is well understood by the stalwart Irishman that "Colfax's Know-Nothing oath will prevent the Radicals from giving a single office to any citizen of foreign birth." Grant, it appears, was accustomed after battles to walk over the field among the corpses thrusting his sword into each dead body. "Such a man," said a late Southern orator, "can never get my support for the Presidency"—a sentiment which the chivalrous Southern audience to which it was addressed greeted with cheers. The Democrats of the Twentieth Ward of this city have hung out a transparency which conveys not quite so serious a charge against the general, but still one that ought to be met or he will go out of the city with a heavy majority against him. The inscription reads: "Grant's ingratitude to McClellan makes countless thousands scorn." A partial set-off against this accusation is one that is brought against Seymour. A weak Democratic editor it must have been who set it going. "Mr. Seymour," his treacherous eulogist says, "is descended from the nobility of England, and has bright, aristocratic blood in his veins." A good post-office is none too good for the subtle Republican who concocted that fling at the enemy. Blair, of course, suffers a good deal. It is alleged that he is the man who let his soldiers burn Wade Hampton's house and steal his plate at the taking of Columbia. This specific charge is thought to get confirmation from two facts: when the war was over he addressed a general order to his army corps, in which he told them that the Romans used to give homesteads to their brave warriors, that the United States ought to do the same thing, that the Government had largely increased its means of doing this by the lands of rebels which it had seized, and that the homesteads should be carved out of the South. And when Grant asked him, after some operations of his in Tennessee, if he had

taken any prisoners, he said: "No, but he had burned a d—d sight of houses." "Blair as a Confiscationist" this chapter in his history is styled. Finally, a college classmate of Blairs asserts in a letter to the *Evangelist*, that "poor Blair's only distinction in college was his amputation of a classmate's nose with a carving-knife in a tipsy spree."

The Boston Working-men's Institute recently met and passed five resolutions concerning the Congressional Eight-hour Bill. The first one hails the new law as an important contribution "to the cause of labor reform and a more equal distribution of wealth." The second one—much to his gratification, we hope—thanks Senator Wilson for his positive and efficient service in favor of the bill, and denounces Mr. Sumner because he "made the most terrible mistake" of opposing "the coming system." The denunciation will please Mr. Sumner better than the praise. On matters of this kind he is never a demagogue and never wrong. The third resolution asserts that there is a great fallacy—soon to be exploded, although people maintain it who claim to be political economists—in arguing that, if the eight-hour system prevails, there must, in justice to employers, be a corresponding reduction in the rate of wages. This same resolution goes on to predict that all attempts on the part of the Government agents to secure "eight hours" labor for anything less than "ten hours" pay, will prove an utter failure. A safe prediction; under the law as it stands, there will be no opportunity of disproving it; the bill was deliberately made for the purpose of daily giving away two hours' pay out of the United States Treasury to every workman in the national yards, and, of course, will effect that purpose excellently well. The resolutions generally afford illustrations of that blind groping after the real point, that falling honestly and helplessly into gross fallacies which are almost painfully and pathetically characteristic of the attempts of untrained working-men to deal with intricate sociological problems. If the working-men of the Boston Institute would establish, for next winter, a course of lectures on co-operation, and listen to them and debate upon them, instead of talking what nobody else can understand, on matters which they do not understand themselves, they would really do something toward settling the vexed question of Capital vs. Labor which now agitates the community. Any mode of settlement that does not involve co-operation does, in the general, involve injustice more or less tyrannical on the one side or the other. Our workmen are slow to turn their attention toward the co-operative system, but we are glad to see that the *Tribune* seems to be spreading among its readers Eugene Richter's little book on "Co-operative Stores."

The English having discovered that there is a "cute dodge" behind the Chinese embassy's mission, and that it is a dodge which is to inure to the benefit of the United States, and that in return for this benefit the United States, in the person of Mr. Burlingame—a Chinese official—stands behind China and threatens all Europe, they will look with interest at the treaty which we have just negotiated with the Emperor. The whole treaty of 1868 is supplementary to the one made in 1858. The first article recognizes the Emperor's right of eminent domain over the lands and waters which he has conceded to foreign communities. For instance, no subject of the Emperor can be made responsible to foreign courts established on conceded territory, and the Emperor reserves the right to try and punish foreigners of nationalities with which he has no treaty relations. Article III. provides that Chinese consuls may be sent to our ports, and that they shall have the rights and privileges of English and Russian consuls. The Chinese in California will find the advantage of consular protection. Article IV. declares that the religious belief of a Chinaman in America, or of an American in China, shall impose no disability whatever. This may yet give us Chinese idolaters as sworn jurymen in San Francisco. Article IV. makes the trade in coolies a punishable offence, and pledges both the high contracting parties to encourage migration and immigration. Already—Mr. Mark Twain says, in an excellent letter in the *Tribune*—the Chinese immigration into California amounts to one thousand a month. And, by the way, it is worth while for foreign critics of the Burlingame mission to remember that when the United States makes a treaty with China—and of necessity

a treaty overrides State laws—we go very far towards receiving as full citizens, with the ruling powers of full American citizens, hundreds of thousands of people of an inferior race. This fact, and the fact that our Pacific railroads, almost finished, will give us so much of the Chinese trade with the rest of the world as to make our material interests in China very important, ought to prevent our attempt to make China a member of the family of nations from being stigmatized as a dodge. Articles VI. and VII. have for their object the same general result—the one sweeping away all the intolerant laws of the Pacific coast in regard to the rights of Chinamen to hold real estate and so forth, and making it possible for a Chinaman to become naturalized; the other asserting that the United States have no wish, and will not permit their citizens, to meddle with the internal improvements of the Empire, but that they will when called on furnish engineers and telegraphers. The effect of this treaty, with its binding power over the courts of the Pacific coast, on the condition of the fifty thousand Chinese already resident there, will be very great, and as honorable to us as beneficial to them.

The cable of 1866 breaks down again, but opportunely, so far as public news is concerned, during a general lull in politics, owing to the adjournment or dissolution of the chief legislatures of the world. Parliament and the French Senate were prorogued July 31, the Corps Législatif having finished its business and closed its session a day or two earlier. The telegraphed comments of the London press on the bill protecting American citizens abroad show a reasonable displeasure and wonder that the United States should thus anticipate the friendly advances of Great Britain, but also a right understanding of the measure as a bait for Irish votes at the fall election. It is cause for rejoicing that the intimate connection now established between the two countries by the instantaneous transmission of news tends to prevent absurd mistakes both as to facts and motives, and to make the temper of the two peoples more equable, and to render the conduct of each more intelligible to the other. In short, the Cable is destined to be the death of what we may call (having Messrs. Banks, Conness, and Chandler in mind more particularly) international buncombe. England would undoubtedly have a right to take offence at the bill, which seems to her a truckling to Fenianism, but we believe she will make allowance for the vagaries of Congress in a crisis like the present, and do, when the time comes, all she intended to do before she was menaced.

The European papers, like our own, are unusually full of financial discussions. Money continues a drug everywhere, business is stagnant and discontent prevails. Prussia has a good round deficit in her annual budget, France has temporarily suspended the tonnage dues on vessels bringing grain, which looks like a poor harvest, and is about to come upon the market for a new loan; Sweden, Russia, Brazil, Turkey, are all needy and urgent borrowers, and Spain and Italy are prevented from borrowing largely solely by their want of credit. All these applicants for money flock to England, where money indeed seems to be abundant, but where the year just closed has added nearly 77,000 to the number of paupers supported by the state. It is evident that this state of things cannot last long, and it is thought by many that financial rather than political difficulties will yet force the leading nations into war as a desperate means of redemption, or the last chance of covering up their bankruptcy.

The passage of the Corrupt Practices Bill occurs simultaneously with some promising symptoms that the old mode of soliciting votes for candidates is to pass away together with bribery. Thomas Hughes has refused to pay out any money towards his own election, unless applied for public meetings, and a Mr. Trevelyan leaves the borough where a personal canvass is expected of him for one in which such a canvass is expressly repudiated. Mr. Hepworth Dixon, who is half invited to stand for Marylebone, does not raise this issue, but declares that he never will seek a place in Parliament, for the rather singular reason that his "mind revolts from the thought of seeking a market for ambition." To some interrogatories put to him by the Marylebone Electoral Association, he answers that he clings with all his might to manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, and compulsory education; and that

he will be glad to see the day when members of Parliament are salaried. He is even more American than this—for it is an American doctrine, though by no means universally accepted or gaining ground, that the representative is merely the mouth-piece of his constituents. Mr. Dixon says he thinks that in the House of Commons "no man has the right to substitute his personal opinion for the opinion of his masters"—a harsh word, and not properly the correlative of public servant. Perhaps, however, it is not more offensive than persons of inordinate delicacy of feeling would find all the rest of Mr. Dixon's epistle.

The Prussian military staff has been publishing a history of the campaign of 1866, and, as the Italian part of it is not treated too respectfully, General La Marmora has made a third or fourth attempt to justify his conduct at the battle of Custoza by asking leave of the Chamber of Deputies to base an interpellation on the work named. The effect of this would be, or might be, to bring the whole affair under discussion before the Chamber, which is certainly not competent to pass judgment on the merits of the case, while the Government, as it could not of itself undertake to refute the Prussian version, ought not to be dragged into doing so. The Italians, however, are not disposed to whitewash Custoza into a victory, and the general's motion has not met with favor in any quarter. If injustice has been done, posterity, as the Turin correspondent of *La Perseveranza* well remarks, or the Austrian staff must rectify it. Nor can we quite think that the day of memoirs has gone by, unless for people who cannot wait to be vindicated by posterity.

We spoke recently of the Sultan's Grand Council, made in imitation of the representative bodies of Western Europe. The members are appointed by the Porte, and one of those fixed upon for the provinces was a certain Israelite, Abraham, who, according to the Turkish fashion, was known by his patril "of Salonica," although he had for many years been settled in Monastir, and there held a very influential position. By mistake the authorities at Salonica were telegraphed to return "Abraham" to Constantinople. Abrahams being thicker than hops in that city, and one Jew probably seeming as good as another for the unknown purpose of the Porte, the authorities laid hands on an ignorant fellow of the lowest station and shipped him to Constantinople. The much-frightened Abraham, instead of being collared by the police, as he feared, found himself on arrival made a grand councillor, with 7,000 piastres a month for his support. When he had taken his seat in the council, however, the mistake betrayed itself, and enquiry revealed the truth. But Fuad Pasha settled the difficulty; he declared that to whom God gives office he also gives understanding, and ordered that both Abrahams should be appointed. So the quondam dealer in leeches and produce became a member of the committee on public instruction, and ought, one would say, to be earnest for "practical" education. We hear another comical story from the same quarter, and relating to a kindred subject. In Egypt the Viceroy's deputies had heard that in European parliaments the supporters of the opposition sat upon the left, while the supporters of government sat upon the right; and in their desire to show their loyalty, on entering the hall they pressed with so much eagerness to the right that the left was entirely deserted. These deputies were elected, but it is clear that their ideas of constitutional government are capable of some development.

We may remark here that the question of abolishing the Consular Courts in Egypt, which we recently noticed as having been raised by that country, from a proper sense of its growing dignity and independence and a disheartening experience of the foreign tribunals forced upon it by the "capitulations," has been further discussed in the English Parliament. Mr. Layard's statement of the abuses which had grown out of the attempts to provide Christians in a Mohammedan state with the justice of the country to which they belonged, was so convincing that there is every reason to believe that, so far as England is concerned, assent will be given to the system of mixed courts which Egypt proposes. In any reform of this nature the other Great Powers must have a voice, and what is achieved for Egypt will also be for Turkey.

THE LATE SESSION OF CONGRESS.

CONGRESS has adjourned, after an exciting session, which has resulted in comparatively little harm, and in some positive good. It is impossible to bestow very great praise upon a session which has brought no particular reform in the civil service, in which a revenue bill was smothered through absolute laziness, and which has done nothing toward removing the doubt which overclouds our national credit. Yet the reduction of the whiskey tax to a practicable rate, the removal of taxes from cotton and domestic manufactures, the progress made in the work of reconstruction, and the defeat of all the dangerous schemes for an enlargement of paper currency, and of many other plausible but injurious measures, are matters for which our national legislators deserve credit.

The first important subject that was brought before Congress, on the opening of its regular session, was the report of the Committee on Impeachment. The feeling of the House was then so strongly opposed to the measure that it was only by the use of dilatory motions that the minority could obtain a chance to be heard as fully as they believed to be their right. Impeachment was then voted down by a vote of 57 to 108. The House and the country felt relieved at this disposition of the question; and it was generally supposed that the President would endeavor so to conduct himself as to avoid giving any excuse for a revival of the project. But this hope was disappointed. Mr. Johnson's pugnacity and perversity would not let him rest in peace. Whether his proceedings were illegal or not, it is at least perfectly certain that his removal of Mr. Stanton was inspired chiefly by his anxiety to do something offensive to Congress, and to prove that he had still some power to annoy his enemies. Had Congress been able to bear the insult then put upon it, we have little doubt that Mr. Johnson would have been encouraged to proceed to some clear violation of the Tenure-of-Office Act; in which case his conviction and removal would have been certain. We shall not, however, renew here the discussion of all the many questions that arose out of the impeachment. To speak of it from a merely party point of view, although we had become so thoroughly weary of Mr. Johnson's "ugly" disposition, his perverse attempts to defeat reconstruction on any plan except his own, and his suspicious affiliations with corrupt men and women, that our sympathies were at the outset entirely with the prosecution, yet we became satisfied before the close of the trial, and are now more than ever convinced, that the success of the Republican party next fall is far more nearly certain under the acquittal of Mr. Johnson than it could have been if he had been convicted by the casting vote of Senator Wade.

The release of cotton and of manufactures from taxation was, in our opinion, a beneficial measure. We have always been opposed to any system of taxation which undertakes to collect a little tribute from every producer. Although looking fair on its face, it is open to at least two insuperable objections: it cannot be so levied as not to tax any article twice, and it cannot be collected from every one who ought to pay it. The tax on manufactures was a perpetual source of annoyance to honest manufacturers, a constant temptation to fraud, and a much greater burden on the country than it was ever meant to be. The only method of taxation on manufactures which can be fully carried out is one which lays the burden on a few articles of general use, so that the revenue officers may confine their attention to those. Unequal as this mode appears at first sight to be, it is only at first sight that it appears so—the tax thus collected would be drawn from a vast number of persons, paying the enhanced price put upon the goods by the manufacturer; and in this manner the burden is about as equally divided as it would be if all branches of production were taxed. The tax being thus paid to the Government by a few persons in the first instance, the assessors and collectors can keep a strict watch upon them, and need not depend upon their representations, as they generally must where every manufacturer is a taxpayer. The Government thus receives a vastly larger proportion of the taxes due to it, while the people are freed from the oppression of a system which necessitates espionage and official investigation into every man's business, or else leaves honest men to pay the whole tax, and to be undersold by their perjuring competitors. The plan of taxing everything has been permanently

abandoned, after a long and thorough trial, in countries where honesty among excise officers is as common as it is rare here; and we thank the Fortieth Congress for putting an end to it.

The reduction of the tax on whiskey was also a wise act, though for very different reasons. The tax *ought* to be at least one dollar per gallon, because the article is a mere luxury, and the system of taxing a few articles only requires that those articles should be heavily assessed. A tax of one dollar could be borne by whiskey without diminishing the production to an extent which the most ardent opponent of teetotalism could believe to be injurious to the country. But the simple truth is, that a tax of the proper amount furnishes a margin for bribery which it is impossible for our officials to resist. It is not necessary, let it be observed, for the "whiskey ring" to control all, or even one-fourth, of the revenue officers of the country. All that they need to do, or have usually done, is to control the officers of a few districts, and then confine the business to those districts. This plan leaves them millions of dollars, if necessary, with which to influence a hundred petty officers. Millions never were necessary, however. So far, it does not appear that the bribes used attained to the dignity of six figures. The officers were hungry and eager to sell themselves for contemptible sums. Indeed, the friends of one of the persons recently convicted of the most outrageous connivance at forgery allege, and we think truly, that he received no bribe at all, and committed what was practically perjury merely out of good nature. Certain it is that he was too poor to pay his counsel.

New, when our revenue service has fallen so low that it seems impossible to get an honest man into it, or to keep him honest for one day after he enters it, and when Congress is unwilling or unable to do anything toward its reform, it is obvious that the maintenance of a high duty is a premium upon bribery, and that the next best thing to do is to lower the duty to such a figure as will give the distiller little choice, as a mere question of money, between paying the tax and bribing the tax-collector. After much examination, Commissioner Wells, who is one of the few men in office who have any capacity for their work, reported that a tax of fifty cents could be collected; and Congress has done well in following his advice.

The action of the House upon the Internal Revenue Bill reported by Mr. Schenck, of which the bill finally passed was a mere fragment, was discreditable enough. The passage of such a measure, remodelling the entire internal revenue system, was the most important duty of the whole session. Almost everything else might better have been sacrificed than this. The whole financial system of the nation—involving, as has long been visible to men who understand political economy, and is fast becoming plain to others, the whole prosperity and honor of the country—depends upon the administration of the Internal Revenue Department. Yet the bill was flung aside, when a few days would have sufficed to finish it, because honorable members wanted to go home and make stump speeches. General Butler's well-known personal devotion to and enthusiasm for General Grant may plead his excuse for such a course; but the House cannot expect us to believe that they all feel the same extraordinary zeal in the cause. At all events, if they did, they might have made General Butler their deputy to the people, and have sent him to stump the country for his favorite, while they contributed to the success of the campaign by proving the capacity of the Republican party to reform abuses in the Government.

While referring to this subject, we must call attention to the significant fact that every Democratic representative, except the two or three members who were on the committee which framed the bill, voted to kill it; thus illustrating the truth of the charge which we made against them last week, that they contribute no aid whatever to administrative reform or to the purification of the Government, but are simply a factious, bitter, and selfish minority, who would rather that the country should suffer from the evils of a corrupt and oppressive fiscal system than that their opponents should have the credit of its reform. Let any fair-minded man compare this record with that of the Republican minority in the Congress of 1857-59, under the leadership of John Sherman in the House and of Lyman Trumbull in the Senate, and he will be apt to forgive the Republican party many of its faults

rather than entrust the nation to the keeping of a combination of Northern corruptionists and Southern malignants.

Many other topics suggest themselves in reviewing the work of the session, but space fails us. The reconstruction acts of previous sessions have been improved. The admission of the Southern States which have complied with the law has proved the good faith of the Republicans in proposing the terms of restoration. Except Mr. Christy, of Georgia, who has not claimed his seat, and who will very likely claim it in vain, and except the Georgia senators, every Southern representative in either House is admitted. The removal of political disabilities from many Southern men has been one of the good fruits of the Chicago Platform. The ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment is of itself a sufficient theme for a column. But we must leave these subjects untouched. We rejoice that so much has been accomplished. We believe that very few schemes of public plunder have succeeded in this Congress, and that several have been stopped by it. Its faults have been mostly negative. Let us hope that it may yet repair its omissions, and earn for itself a name of permanent honor, as it has now earned the credit of having done better than most of its predecessors.

PRIVATE INDEBTEDNESS AND NATIONAL DEBTS.

In a letter signed "S. C.," which we published last week, there occurs the following passage:

"It is true, we are liable for our just proportion of the national debt; but in the past seven years we have paid off an immense amount of private indebtedness, while the debt of the State is less than it was before the war. There is no way of ascertaining the precise amount of private liabilities which have been cancelled. I believe, however, that we in Illinois could personally assume our respective shares of the national debt, . . . and still be in a better condition than we were in 1860."

In accordance with the intention expressed in our comments on that letter, we now propose to show wherein lies the fallacy, and, above all, wherein lies the danger of the fallacy, that there is any similarity whatsoever between the debts of individuals and the debts of governments—between private indebtedness and national debts.

Undoubtedly the Western States generally—Illinois in particular—have, during the last seven years, paid off an immense amount of private indebtedness. But the mere payment of a debt does not necessarily prove increased wealth. If a man owns a farm worth ten thousand dollars, with stock and crops on it worth five thousand dollars, and the whole of the property is mortgaged for five thousand dollars, the man is worth ten thousand dollars—no more, no less. If he sells the stock and crops for five thousand dollars and pays off the mortgage, he is no richer. Only when he has saved money enough on his farm to pay off the mortgage *without* selling his stock and crops, only when he has paid the mortgage and still has the farm and stock and crops, only then is he richer. Our belief is, that the enormously high prices for meat, breadstuffs, and other farm products prevailing during the war induced Illinois farmers to sell out their stock and crops at famine prices, and to pay their debts with the proceeds, and that, if they have to-day less private debts to pay, they also have less stock and crops on hand, and owe their share of the national debt besides. As we stated the other day, the position of Illinois has been throughout most fortunate, yet even in her case the figures of our correspondent bear out our views. We will not ask how much of the individual indebtedness of Illinois was paid by mere cancellation, to the loss and ruin of Eastern creditors, nor in how far the legal-tender act reduced the amount of the debt without the creditors' consent. Nor do we refer to these questions tauntingly, but simply to refute our correspondent's implied assertion, that the reduction of private indebtedness is in itself a proof of increased wealth. But is the private indebtedness of Illinois, or of our people generally, less in 1868 than it was in 1860? We doubt it. The form of indebtedness has changed. The Western merchants may not owe as much to Eastern manufacturers, but they owe far more to Western banks. We have no precise statistics of the amounts due to all the banks of the United States in 1860, but we do know that they were insignificant compared to the amounts due to them at present, and we also know that during the last three years private indebtedness to the banks has increased nearly

one hundred and sixty millions of dollars, or over thirty per cent., and that a fair share of this increase no doubt falls to the lot of Illinois.

But whatever may be the position of Illinois in regard to private indebtedness—a subject extremely difficult to investigate—it certainly is not better off in general wealth than it was in 1860. The very reports of the Public Auditor of Illinois quoted by our correspondent show that the taxable valuation of the total property of the State in 1860 was equal to \$214 *in gold* per head of the total population. In 1866 (we have no later figures) the return gives only \$183 *in currency* per head, in spite of the prevailing inflation and high prices. In 1860 the debt of the State of Illinois amounted to about \$6 per inhabitant, in 1866 to only about \$4 per inhabitant; but though the debt of the State thus appears diminished, it is notorious that the debts of the local organizations—cities, counties, and townships—have increased enormously. If, now, the citizens of Illinois are ready to assume their proportion of the national debt, which (estimating the population of the United States in 1866 at thirty-five millions and the debt at twenty-five hundred millions) amounts to over seventy-one dollars per head, we shall find that, whereas in 1860 every individual in Illinois was worth \$208 *in coin*, he was worth in 1866 precisely \$108 *in currency*. These figures may well be called startling. We publish them in order that they may startle—that they may put an end to the insane glorification over our prosperity while we are poorest, and stop our ignorant idleness and extravagance while we need the utmost industry and economy.

No one need think that these remarkable discrepancies are due to the inaccuracy of assessors or the dishonesty of taxpayers. As our correspondent well said, assessors exercise about the same care and owners of property are about as honest or dishonest one year with the other, and the average correctness will be about the same. Besides, other States show precisely similar results. Iowa shows a decline in property value per head of population from \$294 to \$285, and an increase in debt from 50 cents to \$1. Michigan shows a decline in property from \$395 to \$383, and an increase in debt from \$5 to \$7. Wisconsin shows a decline in property from \$287 to \$186, and an increase in debt from 15 cents to \$3. These four States, far removed from the theatre of war, producing mainly articles the value of which has very largely increased during the last six years, have yet undergone a process of impoverishment which reduced the average wealth of each individual of their total population from \$285 coin in 1860 to \$250 currency in 1866, and increased the average burden of State indebtedness for each individual from three dollars to four. This, be it remembered, is without counting the debts of local organizations—cities, counties, etc.—and without counting one dollar of the national debt.

Of all the States of which we are able to obtain full statistics (and we have them of all the most prosperous) only two showed an increased average wealth—New York and Minnesota, and only one—Minnesota—shows an increase of average wealth and a diminution of State debt. Minnesota's average wealth has increased from \$207 to \$229, and its State debt decreased from \$15 to \$10 per head. The increase of average wealth in New York is from \$372 to \$433, but the State debt shows an almost equal increase from \$88 to \$135. Of none of the other States are complete statistics obtainable, but with the exception of California, and perhaps Ohio, Pennsylvania, and some of the New England States, they would undoubtedly all show far more unfavorable results than those given above. Connecticut, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Tennessee, and Virginia are known to have increased their State debts very largely, while the total reduction in property value in the Southern States is all but fabulous—70 per cent. in Arkansas, 30 in Kentucky, 45 in Louisiana, 7 in Missouri, 90 in South Carolina, and 50 per cent. in Texas and Virginia.

These are facts, obtained mostly from the annual reports of governors and auditors to their respective State legislatures. They are not mere assertions, to be denied or ridiculed by ignorant pertness, but serious facts to be taken into account by serious men. The natural consequences of these facts are beginning to show themselves everywhere in strikes, dull trade, restiveness under taxation, and the daily increasing talk about repudiation; but these consequences are attri-

buted to every imaginable cause except the true one. So unwilling are people to believe the painful fact of our national impoverishment! So delusive is the semblance of wealth created by our national debt!

It is precisely this delusive semblance of wealth that distinguishes national debts from individual indebtedness, and that makes it important to expose the insidious fallacy of our correspondent, which is indeed most widely current, that the diminution of individual indebtedness is a set-off to the increase of national or State debt.

The debts of individuals, when honestly contracted, always represent some *existing* property. National debts, with very rare exceptions, represent only property that has ceased to exist, that has been destroyed.

A Western merchant buys from a New England manufacturer goods on credit, and gives the manufacturer his note for the amount. This note or debt to the manufacturer is represented by the goods in the merchant's store, or if he sells the goods, then the debt is represented by the money he receives for them, or by the money due to him from the persons buying them. When the merchant wants to ascertain the amount of his wealth, he counts the goods in his store, counts the money he has in bank, and the money due to him from others, and from the sum of these he deducts the amount that he owes the manufacturer. His goods, his money in bank, and the money due to him amount to fifteen thousand dollars, he owes the manufacturer five; he is, therefore, actually worth ten thousand dollars only. If he *owes* the debt, he is worth ten thousand; if he *pays* the debt, he is worth ten thousand.

The New England manufacturer is also worth ten thousand dollars. He has a mill worth five thousand, and has the Western merchant's note for five thousand more. The Western merchant's note represents the manufacturer's property in the hands of the merchant. When the note is paid the manufacturer is no richer and the merchant no poorer.

The people of the United States have bought from New England manufacturers and Western farmers immense quantities of goods on credit, and have given the manufacturers and farmers notes for the amount. What are these notes represented by? They are represented by the money paid to the soldiers, which has been spent, by the food the soldiers have eaten, the clothes they have worn, by the horses that have been killed in battle or by fatigue, by the powder and balls that have been shot away. These notes of the people of the United States are represented by no property now in existence. The people of the United States owe these notes. But when the people of the United States count up their wealth at the end of each year, do they deduct the amount of these notes from their total property? Does each individual, in estimating his wealth, deduct his share of the national debt? He does no such thing.

The New England manufacturer and the Western farmer who hold the notes, count them as part of their property. But the people who owe the notes do not deduct them from theirs. The delusion is evident. The holders of the notes should not count them as part of their property, or else the makers of the notes should deduct them from theirs. Everybody does the former, and nobody does the latter. Hence the whole country believes itself richer than it really is, by the total amount of the national debt. This self-deception might be perfectly harmless if it did not delude every individual into the belief that he is—as our correspondent says of the people of Illinois—far better off than he really is. It is this delusion about our individual wealth that prevents every one from recognizing the fact of our national impoverishment, and that encourages that boastful, reckless extravagance which is rapidly sapping the very foundations of our national productiveness.

If, as suggested by our Illinois correspondent, every individual were to assume his share of the national debt, every man, woman, and child in the United States would be seventy-one dollars poorer than they now think themselves. Taking four women and children as belonging to each male adult, we shall find that every male adult would be three hundred and fifty-five dollars poorer than he now thinks himself. Or, if the amount of debt be distributed in accordance with wealth, and the whole country were as rich to-day as it was in 1860, then every property-holder in the United States would be sixteen

per cent. poorer than he deems himself now. Or, again, at the ratio of positive decline in wealth which we assume from all the facts in our possession, every property-holder in the United States, if he deducted from his property his proportionate share of the national debt, would find himself more than twenty per cent. less well off than he now believes himself to be.

If all the people of the United States were to treat the national debt as they treat their private debts, and were to deduct each one his share from the amount of their supposed individual wealth, how many people who are now at Newport would hasten back to town in spite of the heat, how many gilded equipages would be discarded, how many idlers return to labor, how quickly the eight-hour movement would be stopped and the bricklayers resume their work, how carefully the reckless expenditures of city and county and national governments would be scanned and scrutinized, how high financial ability would rise in public esteem, how much honesty would advance in value, and how resolutely, above all, a whole awakened people would sternly vow never to permit one single dollar to be added, on any pretence whatsoever, to that most injurious of all delusions—the national debt!

MR. PATTERSON'S FOREIGN SERVICE BILL.

A GLEAM of light was shed into a very dark corner in our national affairs at the late session of Congress. Mr. Patterson, chairman of the Joint Committee on Retrenchment, introduced a bill designed to effect a radical reform in the whole system—if that word can be applied to our eccentric and ill-regulated habits—of our foreign civil service. The bill went over among the unfinished work; but it was voluntarily and very wisely suffered so to do, because it was read for the first time only on July 2, and time and leisure were desired for a thorough discussion, which should perfect its details, demonstrate its absolute necessity, and thus render it a piece of wise and stable legislation. The retrenchment, happily, is not expected to result from the diminution of the salaries of officials already in the receipt of only starvation wages, but from the organization of the service on a sound basis, and its subjection to a keen and incessant supervision. A system is proposed similar to that long practised by European countries with brilliant success. The foreign service is to be made a specific career—a life-long profession, like the army or the navy. Many times already have we in these columns urgently pressed the need of such legislation, and undertaken to expose the folly of appointments on political grounds of men equally wanting in the natural and artificial acquirements essential to any tolerable performance of their duties, and who can count with certainty upon only one thing, and that is, that they will be superseded as soon as labor and experience have fitted them to continue at their posts to the national advantage; for the cleverest cannot altogether dispense with preliminary study, and no amount of native ability can evolve from itself the arbitrary rules of law or commerce. The requirements of our Consular Manual, fair enough in theory, are practically only “words, words, words.” Never being enforced, they are probably regarded by the majority of the consular force as furnishing a sort of bright ideal which it would be presumptuous in the fleeting official to aspire to reach. It has long been recognized that nothing but thorough legislation could reach and cure the mischief.

Not to go over ground which we have already traversed, there is yet one point which ought to be driven home to the public mind by ceaseless iteration. When once it is appreciated, the popular demand for deep-reaching reform will be too strenuous to be longer neglected or opposed. This point is the ruinous influence of our present service upon our commerce. The report dwells on this at great length and with great earnestness. Its facts and figures are startling. In many quarters of the globe British, French, and Dutch commerce has been positively built up by British, French, and Dutch consuls. They have every means carefully placed at their disposal, and then are sharply watched and obliged to push to the utmost every resource to aid the enterprise of the home merchant, to stimulate trade, to discover and open new channels wherever keen observation can discern the promise of success. To this end they are especially held to render frequent and thorough reports concerning the manufactures, products, commerce, laws, and financial condition of the countries of their residence. The

value of such reports in cherishing, or even originating, a safe and large commerce it is impossible to estimate too highly. Study and training are requisite to making them valuable, for they cover a wide ground. Before a European consul gets an appointment of the lowest grade his competency in this respect is tested as well as may be, and his subsequent promotion can only be *pari passu* with the increase of his ability in this respect. It is of primary importance that he should be a fluent master of the language of the country where he sojourns. This enables him to gather his information for himself, and renders his statements reliable and contemporary, so that they can be immediately and safely acted upon by the merchant at home. It is melancholy to compare with this the feeble, incorrect, and antiquated returns irregularly remitted to the United States by most of her consuls. Occasionally a man of quick parts and conscientious industry furnishes a brilliant exception. But he is sure to be promptly replaced by some totally incompetent person, and the momentary flash only makes the darkness blacker. A peculiar talent and a peculiar knowledge are indispensable to making a valuable report, and when that talent does not exist and that knowledge has never been acquired, it is impossible that the report should be evolved from instinct, or other internal source whatsoever. Especially, a consul who is not familiar with the language of the country of his residence is liable to be the dupe of designing natives, and must compile from newspapers, state reports, and such unreliable or stale sources a treatise which will be historical by the time it reaches the eyes of the United States merchant. With English, French, or Dutch consuls busily plying their search after useful facts, and remitting them rapidly home, beside an American consul in the same port who, however willing, does not really know how to do the same thing, it is very evident how unequal is the competition between the home merchant of those countries and our own. It seems impossible to lay too much stress on this most important matter. We have referred to it before, but now that there is a prospect of gaining the needed legislation the hue-and-cry should never be allowed to cease in the ears of the people till they wake to the sense of how much wealth they daily allow to slip by them, solely for want of a properly constructed foreign service.

Mr. Patterson seems to anticipate that the chief opposition to his bill will be in the notion that it conflicts with the spirit of our institutions, with some sort of bastard tradition—if the United States wears any of the European manacles thus named—to the effect that all offices should be open to the free competition of all persons. We cannot conceive that so hollow and meaningless an objection can be allowed to have any substantial influence. To throw open offices which of necessity can be properly filled only by persons carefully and painfully trained to their requirements, to be scrambled for by all the wirepullers and ward-room politicians in the land, is a very brummagem liberality. Further, an examination into the text of the bill itself utterly annihilates the argument, if argument in any shape it be, which is thus anticipated against it. The Constitution itself provides against any possibility of the creation of a close autocratic caste; it has fixed immutably the power of appointment and removal of ministers and consuls. The Foreign Service Board, which is the backbone of the new creation, is in fact only an instrument devised to aid the President and Senate in the exercise of their functions in a very delicate and difficult department—the management of which to the best advantage requires an amount of skilled labor and unremitting attention which it is impossible for them to give. This board consists of the President, Secretary of State, and three Commissioners. Its duties are as large as its powers are small. It is to examine all candidates for admission to the service, and for advancement to higher grades; to settle also by examination the relative ranks of members of equally long standing in the service; though in cases of necessity it may delegate the duties of examining to competent persons at home or abroad. It is to keep itself thoroughly informed of the capacity, character, conduct, and peculiar natural aptitude of each member of the service. It must also be minutely informed on the importance of our diplomatic relations with all the states of the world, conceive the value of our trade with all ports, and the prospects open to us in new or untried quarters. Then, after acquiring and keeping ceaselessly fresh all this knowledge by as-

siduous labor, its only real functions are those of advisory experts. It can only recommend to the proper departments of government such action as it knows to be desirable. It can advise promotion or degradation, or any species of change in our representation at any foreign court or port. But in no one of these matters can it do more than give advice, which may be followed or rejected. It may be said that there is little practical danger of its rejection; that, in fact, the board will be arbitrary. This may or may not prove to be the case; but it is certain that it can only occur by reason of the great value and efficiency of the board itself in acquiring and imparting correct information. So far as its influence can go upon this basis, it is a clear advantage to the nation to have it go. Wisdom and knowledge in their own peculiar domain ought always to be absolute. If ignorance or partisanship invades the board and destroys its soundness, the fact cannot for a moment escape the vigilant eyes of those senators who must always in the future, as in the past, be the real masters and final judges in the whole foreign service department.

The only actual power of the board it derives indirectly through a clause which declares that no appropriation shall be made for the payment of any official unless he shall have passed satisfactorily the prescribed examination. That this is strictly reasonable and moderate is evident. If we are to have a foreign service organization at all, and any supervisory board to keep it in order, there must be some ligament to bind all the parts into some degree of unity and coherence. A more harmless ligament than that created by this clause does not suggest itself to us. A less quantity of power would bring the board into contempt. Unless the whole system of the bill is a failure, it is difficult to conceive any conjunction of circumstances which should render this clause a fault.

The bill establishes an excellent system of gradation. All the members of each grade receive the same salary. Promotion is made from grade to grade, subject to the ordeal of examination. The relative rank of members in the same grade is determined by seniority. A post at any court or port may be raised or lowered in grade as the increase or decrease of the importance of our political or commercial relations may render expedient. All this seems to be well and wisely ordained. The plan of gradation gives coherence, simplicity, and ease of management. There are grades enough established to find an appropriate one for each ministry or consulate. Payment by salaries is of course the only true principle; and the rate of salaries fixed is certainly not too high. At present we starve most of our officials. They must give their time and thought to their private affairs in order to live, and we get only what fragments of attention they can afford to spare from the care of their own interest. This penny-wisdom is daily costing the nation thousands upon thousands, or rather millions upon millions. European countries pay their consuls in the same ports variously from twice to even four or five times as much as we pay ours. They pay full price for all the time and labor their consuls can give to the public interest, and they then take care to get all that they pay for. Yet the gross sum paid by these countries is vastly less than the gross sum paid by the United States even in cases where the value of their commerce is very many times greater than that of our own. Mr. Patterson's salaries range from \$1,000 for a consular clerk to \$7,500 for a consul-general of the first grade; from \$1,800 for an assistant secretary of legation to \$17,500 for an envoy or minister of the highest grade. We should think that in the majority of countries all these might prove to be what are called living salaries, though certainly not more; and in two or three countries (as in Russia) where the expenses of living are exceptionally high, these sums might be rapidly swallowed up, without maintaining the office in that position of social respectability which ought to be ensured to every representative of the United States. To make them too low would be a much more fatal, and with us a much more probable, error than to make them too high.

The system of promotion is also well arranged. Increase in years, wisdom, and experience is a sound ground for increase in responsibility, honor, and emolument. The danger of a rigid system of seniority is averted by the provision that for service of special value, or for unusual ability, or for other good cause, a certain proportion of promotions may be made irregularly or from the number of citizens at large. This

opens the door to natural aptitude wheresoever it may be found. On the other hand, ample means are secured for the degradation or total dismissal of incompetent members—a matter of peculiar importance in a service at once so delicate and so limited in the number of its employees, each one of whom must be equal to all the duties of his post, or must otherwise cause serious detriment to the Republic.

The effect of all these regulations must be to attract to the service which promises a decent and a life-long maintenance, with some degree of dignity even in its lower grades, all persons having a natural taste and aptitude for such a profession, and who are willing and able to acquire the varied and difficult learning which it demands; while to the inefficient or to those lacking the inspiration of native fitness a more unpromising field could hardly be presented than this, so thickly studded with ceaseless examinations and haunted by argus-eyed watchers, whose keen gaze penetrates to the uttermost parts of the earth.

Another very important clause provides that so soon as an American school shall be established in China or Japan, to educate young men in the languages, laws, literature, and customs of Oriental peoples, graduates of this school may be appointed to positions in China, Japan, etc. The need for such a school and for such appointments cannot be exaggerated. The want of them has put us at a serious disadvantage in the active competition which has been of late so eagerly waging to secure the lion's share of Chinese commerce. We have been guilty of the inconceivable folly of making clerks in trading houses, and even missionaries, our consuls, who in China are invested with judicial and other great and important powers unknown to consulates in Christian countries, bringing them into close and influential intercourse with the natives, and calling imperatively for attainments of a very high, very difficult, and very peculiar order. The Chinese despise us for this blundering policy. Trade with them is ignoble, and as for missionaries, their capacity to fill such positions is not worth discussing. English consuls understand familiarly the Chinese language, laws, and customs. They are properly officials, and neither tradespeople nor decayed clergymen. The present British minister to Japan has been twenty years in the Eastern service, to which he was first chosen because of his training in a Chinese school. Much more effectual for promoting our commerce with China than many treaties would be a wise selection of our commercial representatives in that country.

The portion of the bill distributing the various posts among the courts and ports of other nations we do not propose to discuss minutely. It is likely to be eagerly debated and very much changed before the bill becomes an act. In general, it can be said of it that it certainly promises to effect a most substantial retrenchment, and if it really does not react too far in that direction, of which there is naturally some danger, it is a most melancholy reflection to think how much money we have been squandering most absurdly and uselessly in these our days of taxation and financial embarrassment. It is unquestionably an excellent thing to unite diplomatic and consular functions in one and the same man in a great number of states where we do not now do so. Both branches of the service would probably be better attended to by one efficient agent than they ever would be by two men, neither of whom would have occupation enough to keep him from rusting. As to the feasibility of accrediting one person as minister to two or even three neighboring states, we see no reason why this would not often be in many respects very advantageous. Yet whether it would be best to do so in all the cases proposed by Mr. Patterson we are by no means confident. By uniting into one the missions to Belgium and Holland, those to Spain and Portugal, those to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, we should certainly save a little money annually. Our work might be, in fact, fully as well done; but we should very probably irritate some of these nations. The custom has prevailed towards some of the South American states, who have readily submitted to it. But European states are seldom too small or too poor to be proud, and would not probably consider South American precedents quite satisfactory. England once haughtily rejected the minister whom Buenos Ayres had accredited jointly to that country and France. We do not assert that in the above-mentioned cases the experiment might not work favorably.

But we are well assured that the retrenchment of a few thousands a year would be foolishly bought by exciting the ill-will of any foreign people, especially maritime and commercial, however insignificant we may deem them or their hostility at the immediate present. The principle itself is strictly reasonable. We approve it highly; but its application is a very delicate matter, and in each instance should be made with all possible caution and courtesy, feeling the way gently, and taking all care not to buy a few thousands a year too dearly.

SERVIA.

THE bloody drama which began, on the 10th of June last, with the assassination of Prince Michael of Servia, and of his cousin, Anna Constantinovitch, in the Toptchider Park, near Belgrade, is now fairly over. The attempt of Paul Radovanovitch, his three brothers, and their fellow-conspirators once more to revolutionize Servia by the overthrow of the house of Obrenovitch, has proved a total failure, in spite of their easy success in the first act. The old statesman, Garashanin, whose son narrowly escaped death at the hand of the assassins, has fully evinced his energy in this trying emergency, and saved his country from anarchy and intervention. The Servian National Assembly has reconfirmed the right of the Obrenovitch family to the throne of their people. A young nephew of the murdered prince has ascended it as Milan Obrenovitch IV., and his accession, under the guidance of a regency, has been acknowledged, without hesitation, both by the Sultan as suzerain and the great powers of Europe. The chief conspirators and their accomplices, mostly men of broken-down fortune and doubtful reputation, have been tried, found guilty, and executed. The banished ex-Prince Alexander Kara-Georgevitch, and his son Peter, remain in exile, vehemently protesting against the accusation of complicity in the plot, so gravely charged on them by some of the victims of the trial. A brother-in-law of Alexander has suffered the penalty of death.

The marked sensation which these events have created throughout Europe is but partly to be ascribed to their startling and sanguinary character. It is owing chiefly to the particular interest with which every new political movement that occurs on the Lower Danube is now being scanned by the diplomats as well as the people of that continent. And Servia, more, perhaps, than any other part of those regions, is anxiously watched as one of those fated spots from which the first smoke of the great Panslavic conflagration, which is destined to cover Eastern Europe with ruins, is expected to rise one of these days. The prudent hesitation of the rulers of Servia—a strong mountain fastness separating Roumania from Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro—to join in a crusade against Turkey, has more than once contributed to keep Russia's sword in its scabbard. A sudden change of policy in the principality might easily be followed by a signal for a general rising of the Christian subjects of the Sultan. But numerous and sudden as the changes of government in semi-independent Servia have been, none has as yet succeeded in throwing her even momentarily into the arms of the Czar. A glance at her history in this century will not only show the character and bearing of those revulsions, but also throw considerable light upon the last events as well as the present situation.

Servia, whose last king and independence perished on the battlefield of Kosovo, in 1389, having groaned for four hundred years under the crushing yoke of the Turks, found a first deliverer, in 1804, in Kara or Czerny, Black) George, and another, ten years later, in Milosh Obrenovitch. The former, a semi-barbarian of low descent, but full of vigor and wild devotion to his fatherland, led his warlike countrymen, whom the excesses of the Janizaries had driven to despair, to repeated victories over their oppressors, and, profiting by a Russo-Turkish war, achieved a partial self-rule for his country, and was acknowledged its chief. But having renewed the war, in 1809, in conjunction with his former allies, he after some successes assumed a neutral attitude, and was soon after abandoned by Russia, which, threatened by Napoleon's invasion of 1812, hastened to conclude the peace of Bucharest. Hard pressed from every quarter, Kara George lost his wonted energy, and finally gave up the struggle, fleeing into Austria. It was then that Milosh, a man of equally poor origin, but no less crafty than brave,

evinced his higher natural abilities, gallantly maintaining the fight, and soon winning the confidence of both friends and foes to such a degree as to be able to bring about a peace. This, however, was violated by fresh acts of oppression, and on Palm Sunday, 1815, he again raised the standard of revolt. This new struggle was crowned with success, leading to the establishment of that autonomy which Servia has enjoyed for upwards of half a century, and the sphere of which has gradually been widened to the very verge of absolute independence. He was elected by a national assembly Prince of Servia, and confirmed by the Sultan, passing to his dignity over the corpse of his former leader, Kara George, who, secretly returning from exile, had been betrayed by him into the hands of the Turks.

Milosh's reign was firm and able, but often arbitrary and violent. By preserving strict neutrality between Russia and Turkey during the war of 1828-29, he exposed himself to the hostility and intrigues of the former power, which, on one hand, fostered the growth of a national party, inclined to assert the dignity of Servia by a bolder attitude; and, on the other, persuaded the Porte to limit the sway of the Prince by means of a Senate. He was finally compelled, in 1839, to resign in favor of his son, Milan, who, dying after a few weeks, was succeeded by his brother, the lately assassinated Michael, then a boy of fourteen. Unable to govern himself or others, this young Prince was for a time tossed about by violent factions, until overthrown by a revolution in 1842, which sent the house of Obrenovitch into exile, and recalled to the throne that of Kara George, in the person of his son, Alexander.

This revolution, achieved by the national party, and sanctioned by all powers concerned, bore no fruits for Russia. Alexander Kara-Georgevitch, advised by Garashanin, continued the international policy of Milosh while actively engaged in promoting the internal welfare of the country, and in spite of all the temptations held out by the Czar during the Crimean war remained neutral. The eventful years 1848 and 1849, however, during which the Serbs (Rascians) of Hungary, aided by their brethren from the other side of the Save, and in co-operation with the Croats, waged a fierce warfare against the Magyars, had given new power over the minds of the Servian people to the long-cherished dreams of South-Slavic or Panslavic greatness, and it became easy to the combined efforts of the partisans of Russia and of the Obrenovitches, who now openly sided with the Czar, to undermine the position of Alexander, with the aid of the more extreme part of the national opposition. A senatorial conspiracy, in 1857, failed, but another movement in the following year was successful, and the two rival dynastic houses again exchanged places. Old Milosh was re-established, early in 1859, as hereditary Prince of Servia, but died after a short reign, in 1860, and was succeeded by Michael.

The new reign began and was continued successfully, the Porte gradually yielding almost every disputed point, and shortly before his death Michael, who made his former opponent Garashanin his prime minister, had the satisfaction of seeing the last of the Turkish garrisons, including that of the fortress of Belgrade, withdrawn from the country, whose relation to the Porte was thus changed to an almost nominal tributary connection. In every other respect, too, Servia was steadily progressing. But with their return to power the Obrenovitches ad also returned to their earlier international policy, while their exiled enemies, settled across the border in Hungary, gradually recommenced agitating and plotting with the opposite factions. Michael was denounced as faithless to the national and Christian interests of the Slavic race, and as a vile tool of Franco-Austro-Hungarian diplomacy in its opposition to Russian hegemony in the East.

It would be presumptuous to judge, from this distance, by the scanty materials made public by the leaders of the trial, how far fanatical sentiments of this kind have contributed to ripen the plot which has so abruptly terminated the reign and life of Michael Obrenovitch III. So much, however, appears certain, that personal motives—reckless ambition, treachery, and a fondness for political adventure—were the chief springs of action with the leading conspirators, and that both national aspirations and foreign money—gained, perhaps, under false pretences—were the use of to procure abettors in an enterprise the real import and aim of which Paul Radovanovitch may have divulged but to few of his associates. That a republican and agrarian move-

ment was contemplated among other eventualities, and perhaps with predilection, by that audacious conspirator, seems almost equally certain. The general outburst of indignation, however, which followed the assassination, and the enthusiastic unanimity with which the Servians have placed young Milan on the throne of his uncle, evidently show how miscalculated the whole scheme was, and have justly been cited by the Emperor of the French, in a conversation held a few weeks ago, and already commented on by us, as confirming the rule that political murders serve only to strengthen the party whose overthrow is aimed at.

Throughout this century, little Servia, whose population even now hardly exceeds 1,200,000—almost all of Slavic race and Greek Orthodox faith—has acted a more conspicuous part in Europe than either its magnitude and resources or the intellectual and moral condition of its people would have led observers to expect. This is owing to a most advantageous geographical position, to the warlike character of the nation, to a favorable combination of political circumstances, and also to the energy and ability of some of the Servian rulers, who, though belonging to two bitterly hostile houses, have, when in power, steadily and firmly maintained one line of policy, and, in spite of constant internal and foreign machinations, uniformly advanced the welfare and promoted the power of the country. For the future, it is encouraging to know that the regency under which the new Prince has been placed is composed of men whose past services offer a guaranty for a consistent continuation of the preceding rule. But it will require a firm hand to steer the little state safely across the shoals and rocks where the stream of South-Slavic history is likely to flow, with increased impetuosity, in the near future.

ENGLAND.

LONDON, July 18, 1868.

ONE of the beauties of London, or rather of its neighborhood, consists in the extent of still unbroken commons. The most picturesque of those still remaining is Wimbledon, at the distance of some six miles from the heart of the town. Emerging from the long rows of suburban villas, one finds one's self on the edge of a broad level plateau, with long stretches of turf bounded by gorse and heather, and to all appearance as wild as a moor in Scotland. Beyond this plain the common descends pretty steeply to the edge of a little stream, on the opposite side of which are the picturesque slopes of Combe wood, belonging to the Duke of Cambridge. Several little ravines break the crest of the hill and may stand for very fair miniatures of a Highland glen. Standing at the bottom, one has on each side broken banks of gorse, and the vista is closed by the foliage of Combe wood. For anything that strikes the senses, London might be as distant as it is from Helvellyn or Ben Lomond. Indeed, the extreme seclusion of these glens recommended them in former days as the scene of duels, at the last of which the notorious Lord Cardigan was a performer, and he has bequeathed the name of Glen Cardigan to its scene. How it comes to pass that so much unbroken ground has still been preserved from the universal plague of brick and mortar would be too long a story to tell; only I may say that a vigorous legal battle is raging between the commoners, who maintain their right to keep it open, and Lord Spencer, the lord of the manor, who is anxious to establish his right to enclose it. Threatened by the constant anxiety of annexing so valuable a bit of property, and by the ambition of numerous railways to force a passage through it, it has hitherto held its ground; perhaps, however, its best chance of permanent safety consists in the fact that it has been unanimously chosen as the great meeting-ground of our volunteers. The level plateau does well as a parade-ground, and along the edge of the slope are erected the butts. Missing bullets are supposed occasionally to cross the valley and slaughter some of the game in the recesses of Combe wood; but till the wood is displaced by villas human life will not be endangered.

Hence it comes to pass that Wimbledon Common is at the present moment a great place of resort. The annual shooting matches are going forward, and volunteers from all parts of the kingdom are swarming to this centre. There is the prize of £250 given by the Queen for the distinguished volunteer who will, for a year, be the champion shot of England. There are innumerable supplementary prizes given by all sorts of persons from all sorts of motives, from the Prince of Wales to retail shopkeepers, and from pure patriotism to simple desire of advertising. There are matches between England, Scotland, and Ireland; between the Houses of Lords and Commons; between Oxford and Cambridge; or between Eton and Harrow.

There are prizes to be won in all sorts of competitions, and with all sorts of rifles. There are prizes for firing as many shots as possible in a minute, for firing at a moving object shaped like a stag, for firing whilst running fifty yards between each shot, and for excellence in any other imaginable variety of competition. Now, there is to my mind no stupider sight in this world than a rifle-match. You see a gentleman lying on his stomach for a long time carefully adjusting a rifle; he fires it, and you are informed that he has done something wonderful, or the reverse; but when all is said, there has been nothing to see but a gentleman on his stomach. Moreover, there are so many competitions going on at once that the mind of the ordinary civilian becomes hopelessly bewildered, and he strays vaguely from one butt to another without a guess as to what is going on, till he reads the results in next day's newspaper. In another way the sight is interesting enough. The rifle-shooting has become the centre of attraction for a gigantic picnic. It has become fashionable to camp out on the common, and some three thousand men pass the time under canvas, by way, as I suppose they intended originally, of initiating themselves in the hardships of campaigning. If this was their design, it was laudable, but has been rather a failure. The tents have become as luxurious as tents can be. They are supplied by skilful caterers from London; there is abundance to eat and to drink, and plenty of conviviality for those who do not fear the effect upon the firmness of their nerves. The volunteers seem to be having a very jolly time of it, and they consequently swarm in every variety of uniform. The most popular color, owing to some tradition about riflemen, was a dark green, which, at a small distance, appeared to be positively black. A lighter grey has now become commoner, and some of the volunteers stick to the good old British scarlet. The consequence is, that a brigade of volunteers presents the most singular mixture of colors conceivable, and I fear that the variety of their dress represents only too faithfully the heterogeneous composition of the force in other respects. Indeed, a walk across Wimbledon Common would suggest to the "intelligent foreigner" of newspapers some very obvious reflections as to our volunteer army. In one respect it has certainly succeeded beyond expectation. Rifle-shooting has become a popular amusement, and there are few towns of even moderate size which do not reckon a certain number of enthusiastic shots among their inhabitants. Although it is regarded with some contempt by the devotees of cricket, rowing, and other sports favored by the genuine athlete, it seems to have taken root as a kind of subsidiary amusement. In towns it has supplied a very useful recreation for the tradesmen, who have been very much in want of some open-air exercise; and the number of really good performers steadily increases. Considered as an army, the volunteers are much more open to criticism. Some thirty thousand of them went down the other day to a grand review at Wimbledon, and, provoked by some railway mismanagement, they became dissolved, on their return, into a confused and chaotic mass. Some of their leaders have described them, in consequence, as an utter sham; and they have received some harder language than they have hitherto been accustomed to. To say the truth, they have the faults which are necessarily incident to men merely "playing at soldiers." Their officers, with few exceptions, have not been trained in any way, and know next to nothing about their business. They have no authority over their men, and the discipline is universally of the laxest description. What would be still more fatal to the body considered as an army, they have scarcely any organization; they stand in no particular relation to the regular army or to the militia; and if ten thousand of them were collected together, they could not march a hundred miles for want of commissariat. They would be simply a large body of excursionists. What we have is simply two hundred thousand men possessing a tolerable knowledge of drill, and well skilled in the use of the rifle. They are the raw material, but not the manufactured army.

Talking of military affairs reminds me naturally of Sir R. Napier. We have not yet done throwing up our hats and cheering him to the echo. He has been made a peer, has received a pension of £2,000 a year for two lives, and has been chased up and down from banquet to banquet with that perseverance characteristic of the English lion-hunter. An unpleasant little controversy has meanwhile cropped up in the papers. It is asserted that King Theodore was deceived at the last moment, and was led to understand that the English commander had accepted his present, and thereby, according to Eastern customs, had agreed to peace. The attack upon Magdala, it is asserted, took him by surprise, and was to his understanding a breach of faith. The matter has not been quite explained, nor do we know who was the responsible person, as the messages to Theodore had to pass through more than one interpreter. The discussion has left a rather unpleasant impression, but we are so determined to rejoice over our victory that it is impossible to obtain much hearing for it. Meanwhile, Sir Robert, or Lord

Napier of Magdala, seems to receive his worshippers with all due modesty and gives general satisfaction.

Mr. Bright is already off to Ireland, for the laudable purpose of salmon-fishing. He was caught on his road by some obtrusive corporation and made to deliver a speech on the well-worn topics of the Church and the land-laws. Of course he made it, and seems to have spoken well; but I think that the exaction was felt to be a piece of unnecessary cruelty. Our legislators are all eager to be off and to cast away their cares for a time. The election which is hanging over them is a cruel prospect for most. The change in the constituencies leaves everything uncertain except that there will probably be heavier expenses than ever. Direct bribery is perhaps likely to be less common, more because it is past any one's means to bribe sufficiently in a large constituency than because a new and more stringent act has lately been passed against it. But the modes of spending money in a legitimate way are so numerous that the expense is growing heavier in most boroughs. The new candidates who come forward are for the most part men who can afford to spend £1,500 or £2,000 a year for the pleasure of being members of Parliament. They are generally middle-aged merchants who have made a fortune in a large town and are ambitious of the magical letters M.P., and it is becoming daily more difficult for a poor man to enter into that paradise—though still it may be rather easier than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Mr. Thomas Hughes has distinguished himself by declaring that he will spend no money upon his election, and that his constituents may take him or leave him as they choose; and Mr. Mill takes the same position, though in his case the necessary funds are raised by collection amongst his numerous admirers both in and out of the borough. To men so widely known, for different reasons, this is possible. The Liberal press is certain to support both of them, and will spontaneously supply the advertisements so necessary and generally so expensive. The borough of Greenwich proposes to honor itself in a similar way by electing Mr. Gladstone free of expense, although he still stands for Lancashire. Should he fail in the North, he will thus find a refuge in the metropolis. But it certainly grows more difficult for an unknown man to come forward simply on his merits and attract notice in a populous town without very large expenditure.

Candidates threatened by such troubles have a right to long for a little repose, and Parliament is growing languid under the influence of general weariness, increased by the terrible heat and unprecedented drought from which we are suffering. The grass caught fire the other day on Wimbledon close to the ammunition tent and all but blew up some thousands of pounds weight of gunpowder and nobody knows how many volunteers. It was put out by a timely display of energy, but everywhere the fields are all parched and thirsty and capable of getting up on a miniature scale a representation of a prairie on fire.

Correspondence.

THE BONDS.—THE LETTER OF THE LAW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

In your last issue, in reply to Mr. Walker, you appear to admit that, according to the letter of the law, the Government can pay off its five-twenty bonds in greenbacks.

Is this so?

The bond for which I subscribed, to sustain the Government, reads: "It is hereby certified that the United States of America are indebted unto _____, or bearer, in the sum of one hundred dollars."

What is a dollar?

By the *law*, a dollar is defined to be "a silver coin weighing four hundred and twelve and a half grains, or a gold coin weighing twenty-five and four-fifth grains of nine-tenths pure to one-tenth alloy of each metal."

Your correspondent may say that the Government has made greenbacks "dollars."

Is this so?

On the face of them they read, "The United States promise to pay to bearer one dollar."

These notes promise to pay *coins*. To say that they are *coins* is to disregard a distinction they themselves draw, and to make the promise and performance identical.

But this logic drives us to the conclusion that the Government has already repudiated its obligations, for every unredeemable greenback is a swindle on its face. If the Republican party continue to use it as a legal tender for private debts, will they not soon be made a legal tender for public debts also?

There are but two courses, *specie payments* or *more repudiation*. Will you not, then, direct your batteries to the turning-point in the fight?

Yours,

MOUNT AIRY, July 27, 1868.

C.

[If the letter of the law were as simple as our correspondent seems to think it, there would be no dispute. Unfortunately the law, like most of our laws, was accidentally or intentionally left imperfect, with just enough of ambiguity in it to admit of a double interpretation. Whatever our own views on the subject may be, and we have frequently and explicitly stated them, candor compels us to acknowledge that "the letter of the law" cannot be appealed to as decisive, since the greenbacks were undoubtedly made a "legal tender" for all claims and demands due to the United States and against the United States, except for interest and duties. That the greenbacks are only promises to pay coin is very true, but it is these very promises which Congress has made a legal tender, without providing the means or stipulating the time of their redemption. The Legal-Tender Act undoubtedly *admits of the interpretation* that the "sum of one hundred dollars," for which the United States are indebted to our correspondent, is the sum of one hundred legal tender dollars.

The letter of the law admits of two interpretations. The spirit of the law can alone decide. In our own opinion the evidence unquestionably shows that it was the intention of Congress to make the principal of the five-twenty bonds payable in coin; that at the time of their issue, and for some time thereafter, Congress and the people believed that the bonds had been made so payable; that not one person in a hundred once thought that specie payments would be suspended long enough ever to allow this question to arise; and that the question did not arise practically until the gold premium had become so high, and the finances so deranged, that the hope of an early return to specie

payments was abandoned. That this view is correct we have not a shadow of doubt. But we are well aware that many good and able men disagree with us entirely. Who is to decide?

As matters stand, the question has ceased to be one of mere legality, and has become a question of equity and statesmanship. The equitable rights of a bondholder are susceptible of most perfect adjustment whenever the financial position of the country justifies it in attempting such an adjustment. Neither our own, nor our correspondent's, nor any one else's interpretation of the law will affect the position of the bondholders in the least. Nothing that any one can suggest in the way of argument can remove the doubt that hangs over the bonds; and until some practical object is to be gained by clearly establishing the country's liability, further discussion seems almost futile.—ED. NATION.]

THE NATIONAL DECLINE IN PRODUCTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR. I have read with deep interest the article on "The Financial Prospect," in the *Nation*, No. 156, with the comments of correspondents thereon, and your replies thereto.

I enclose herewith a comparative table, showing the quantity and value of certain agricultural products, at various times, which, although prepared for an entirely different purpose, sustains all that you say in regard to the relative decline of agricultural products. From this it appears that not only has there been no increase in quantity corresponding with that of population, but in some items there was an absolute decline from 1860 to 1866, so that there was actually less *per capita* than there was in 1860.

The values given for 1866 are in *currency*, which, if reduced to specie, the average price of gold being 1.41, will show that the money value of the crops was only about \$1,780,000,000, thus showing that the increase in this respect did not keep pace with the increase of population.

M.

Statement of certain Products of Agriculture, according to the United States Census returns of 1840, 1850, and 1860, with the estimated Products of 1866.

PRODUCTS.	1839-40.		1849-50.		1859-60.		1866-67.	
	QUANTITY.	VALUE.	QUANTITY.	VALUE.	QUANTITY.	VALUE.	QUANTITY.	VAL., CURRENCY.
Indian corn.....bush.	377,531,875	\$132,572,186	592,071,104	\$296,085,552	838,792,740	\$377,456,733	867,946,295	\$591,666,295
Wheat....."	84,823,272	68,016,156	100,485,944	100,485,944	173,104,924	173,104,924	175,000,000	383,773,646
Oats....."	123,071,341	37,123,052	146,584,179	43,975,253	172,643,185	51,792,955	268,141,077	135,255,326
Rye....."	18,645,567	13,984,175	14,188,813	7,803,847	21,101,380	13,000,000	20,864,944	24,661,290
Buckwheat....."	7,291,743	4,187,205	8,956,912	6,969,888	17,571,818	17,571,818	22,791,859	22,164,121
Barley....."	4,161,504	3,121,128	5,167,015	3,616,910	15,825,898	10,250,000	11,283,807	11,383,698
Wool.....lbs.	35,802,114	11,292,144	52,516,959	15,755,087	60,264,913	18,500,000	100,000,000	50,000,000
Hops....."	1,238,502	63,491	3,497,029	1,222,960	10,991,996	700,000	20,000,000	5,000,000
Beeswax and honey....."	628,303	62,830	14,853,790	2,376,606	24,689,144	4,860,000	24,689,144	7,500,000
Potatoes, Irish.....bush.	108,298,060	24,014,963	{ 65,797,896	26,319,158	111,148,867	55,600,000	{ 107,200,976	72,939,029
" sweet....."	{ 38,268,148	19,134,074	38,268,148	19,134,074	42,095,026	25,200,000	42,095,026	31,778,627
Hay.....tons.	10,248,108	79,843,028	13,838,642	96,870,494	19,083,896	240,000,000	19,083,896	317,561,837
Hemp....."	95,251	8,504,896	34,871	5,247,430	74,493	7,449,300	74,493	15,000,000
Flax.....lbs.	Included with hemp.	7,709,676	770,967	4,720,145	300,000	4,720,145	4,720,145	750,000
Tobacco....."	219,163,319	10,400,530	199,752,655	13,982,686	434,209,461	39,000,000	388,128,684	53,778,888
Rice....."	80,841,422	1,955,840	215,313,497	4,000,000	187,167,032	5,700,000	10,104,000	600,000
Cotton....."	790,479,275	57,130,302	978,317,200	98,603,720	2,154,820,800	172,385,664	885,790,400	225,000,000
Cane Sugar....."	{ 155,110,809	5,907,882	236,814,000	12,378,850	230,982,000	11,500,000	40,000,000	4,000,000
Maple....."	{ Not given.	{ 33,787,008*	34,253,436	1,712,671	40,120,205	6,000,000	40,120,205	10,000,000
Butter....."	"	{ 33,787,008*	313,345,306	50,135,248	459,681,372	55,200,000	460,000,000	115,000,000
Cheese....."	"	"	105,535,893	5,276,795	103,663,927	11,300,000	200,000,000	30,000,000
Wine.....gals.	124,734	62,367	221,249	442,498	1,627,242	1,627,242	4,000,000	4,000,000
Silk cocoons.....lbs.	61,523	61,523	10,843	5,421	11,944	12,000	11,944	12,000
Orchard products.....	Not given.	7,256,904	Not given.	7,723,186	Not given.	19,991,885	Not given.	35,000,000
Market-garden products.....	"	2,601,196	"	5,280,030	"	16,159,498	"	30,000,000
Peas and beans.....bush.	"	"	Not given	9,219,901	5,762,436	15,061,995	7,500,000	15,061,995
Molasses, cane.....gals.	"	"	"	{ 12,700,991	2,540,179	14,963,996	4,250,000	2,500,000
" maple....."	"	"	"	"	1,597,589	600,000	2,000,000	800,000
" sorghum....."	"	"	"	"	6,749,123	1,900,000	10,000,000	3,000,000
Clover-seed.....bush.	"	"	"	468,978	2,344,890	956,188	1,400,000	956,188
Grass....."	"	"	"	416,831	833,662	900,040	1,400,000	900,040
Flax....."	"	"	"	562,312	843,468	566,867	800,000	566,867
Live stock....."	"	"	110,847,879	Not given.	136,045,129	Not given.	272,332,479	Not given.
			\$612,796,684		\$974,494,989		\$1,624,844,498	\$2,507,257,065

NOTE.—For the year 1840 the values are those stated by Prof. Tucker. For 1850, with the exception of "live stock," the values are those given on page 176 of De Bow's "Compendium of the Seventh Census." For 1860, with the exception of "live stock," the values are those given by Mr. Delmar ("International Almanac, 1866," page 60). For 1866, the quantities and values of the crops of grain, hops, potatoes, hay, tobacco, butter, and cheese, are those given in the annual and monthly reports of the Department of Agriculture; of wool, that given in the report of the Special Commissioner of the Revenue; of cotton, the quantity (2,214,476 bales, of 400 lbs. each) is that given in "Nell Brothers' Cotton Circular," October 15, 1867; of cane sugar and molasses, the quantities as reported in the New Orleans *Price Current*, March 9, 1867.

The above table may be found on page 34 of the "Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of Statistics on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States," for the year ending June 30, 1867; and persons having more precise information concerning special crops than is furnished therein should send it to the Director of the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

* Dairy products.

[Aug. 6, 1868]

Notes.

LITERARY.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. have in press the "Journal of the Voyage of H.M.S. *Galatea* Round the World, under the Command of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh;" "Chambers's Encyclopedian Atlas; comprising a series of Thirty-nine Maps, printed in colors, and a Map of the Annual Revolution of the Earth round the Sun;" "Seekers after God (the Lives of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius)," by Rev. F. W. Farrar, M.A.; "Ab-sa-ra-ka, Home of the Crows; being the Experience of an Officer's Wife on the Plains;" "The Sure Resting-place; being Selected Sayings of Our Lord Jesus Christ, arranged as a Manual of Faith and Practice;" and "A Summer in Iceland," by C. W. Pajkull (translated by M. R. Barnard, B.A.). The same house announces new editions of Aitken's "Science and Practice of Medicine," of Dr. Billings's "First Principles of Medicine," and Dr. Reynolds's "Science of Medicine." These are three works out of many by English and American authors which figure in Lippincott's new catalogue of medical works and works on natural history. Lippincott & Co. are agents for the cheap reprint of Dickens's *Household Words*.—Mr. James Miller announces the republication of Miss Annie Thomas's "Three Wives."

The intensity of our American life has been often enough the subject of foreign comment, but the inference which Mme. Dora d'Istria draws from it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July 15, is, so far as we remember, entirely original. We say inference, because although her remarks have the air of being based on experience, they are better, all things considered, ascribed to the habit of generalization in which the French perhaps excel all other people. The writer is treating of the Bulgarian nationality, and having to consider the relations of the two sexes, she steps aside for illustrations. In Latin countries, she says, women learn the laws of the universe through religious traditions, while men learn them by studying the gigantic discoveries of the human intellect which we call modern science. Hence the latter come to regard the former as an inferior species, with different capacities. In the United States, on the contrary, it is not so. There, "where the men are absorbed in unremitting exertion (*par une labeur sans relâche*), it is the women who most readily apply themselves to books and science, and at the female university of Vassar Female College one would almost be led to pity the rudeness of men's pursuits (*la grossièreté des habitudes viriles*)."¹ We trust that Vassar will bind this number of the *Revue* in the most elegant manner, and cherish it above all her library. The male citizen whose business barely leaves him leisure to keep track of politics will do well also to purchase this number, and when his wife has read Emile Blanchard on the "First Observers with the Microscope" and George Sand's "Letters of a Traveller concerning Botany," he may enjoy M. Auguste Laugel's résumé of Mr. Edmund Quincy's life of his father, the late Josiah Quincy, and the "Last of the American Federalists."

Y Drych, the oldest and for a long time only Welsh newspaper in the United States, now in its eighteenth year, has recently been enlarged and put into a very handsome new dress. Since it has passed into the hands of its present publisher, Mr. John Mather Jones, *Y Drych* has given evidence of very decided improvement both in its collection of news interesting to its large and intelligent class of readers, and also in the tone of its miscellaneous articles. Claiming to be and being independent in politics, its influence has been vigorously exerted in favor of the Republican party, while not approving all that that party has done. How far its influence has tended to make the Welsh people what they are, almost unanimously Republican in politics, it would be somewhat difficult to determine, as their intense repugnance to slavery has made them Republicans without the need of outside pressure. But in the elucidation of the principles of the Republican party, the defence of its doctrines, and the presentation of facts bearing upon the political situation, it has done yeoman's service in the Union cause. Though it pays considerable attention to politics it cannot be classed as a political journal. It aims to treat of all subjects of interest to its readers, and shows great ability in its editorial articles and completeness in its collection of Welsh news from all parts of the United States.

An unknown correspondent, to whom we would here express our obligations, sends us from Geneva a part of the "Bibliothèque Nationale," published in Paris, of which the titles will be found on another page under "Books of the Week." (The latest of them bears date May, 1868.) "I judged," says our correspondent, "from the spirit of your paper, that you would be interested in them, as examples of cheap printing successfully applied to a worthy purpose. They seemed to me a good text from which

to hang an appeal, or suggestion, to our American publishers to attempt a similar series of books at once good and popular." We are very glad of the opportunity to make this appeal by bringing into general notice this admirable but little known series. The "library" at present consists of 28 volumes of history, 20 of morals and philosophy, 3 of science, 4 of pedagogy (the whole of Rousseau's "Emile"), 26 of tales, 6 of "Fantaisie" (Sterne's "Sentimental Journey" and "Gulliver," among others), 11 of plays (French and German), 10 of poetry (the whole of Horace, Dante's "Inferno," etc.), 11 of "Polygraphic" (miscellaneous), and 1 of aesthetics—in all, 115 volumes. Each of these is sold for 25 centimes, or a quarter of a franc; and the importing value of the franc being 33 cents gold, any one of the series could be obtained here for 12 cents in currency. The form is a 32mo, most convenient for the pocket, and there are six "signatures" or 192 pages. We may compare this with the Messrs. Appleton's "plum-pudding" edition of Dickens, choosing the "American Notes," which sells for 15 cents, and is a 12mo, with 108 pages. The first noticeable difference after the shape is the type, which in the "Notes" is as small as that employed in the *Nation's* table of contents (nonpareil), while in the French series it is a trifle larger than the type used in our editorial articles (bourgeois). Of course the odds are greatly in favor of the latter, so far as eyesight is concerned. The French paper is quite as good as the American, and at all events is *good enough*, a lesson which our publishers can never learn too soon. The matter contained in the "Notes" is about twice that of (say) the "Montesquieu." Here, then, we have the evidence that an American house might imitate the French example, and find its profit in doing so, provided it could be assured of a sufficient sale. But of this, we think, there ought to be no doubt, and if the American classics would not sustain the undertaking, there is no reason why it should not be floated as the French is, by translations from the classics of all countries, ancient and modern. Mr. Longfellow's "Dante" or Mr. Parsons's "Inferno" would certainly find a remunerative market, along with Mr. Brooks's "Faust" and "Titan," and many another translation honorable to American letters. For the rest, all that is wanted is judgment in selecting parts of an author's whole—those parts which have deserved and won a fixed place in literature, and cannot be repeated too often. Will not the Appletons, when they have exhausted the Scott series and the Marryat series—or will not Ticknor & Fields, dropping their "Good Stories"—turn their attention to this more useful mode of supplying the people with good reading? Several of the volumes before us are marked "fifth edition." The series appears to be issued fortnightly.

—Mr. Henry Morley—the author, let us say, of two or three delightful biographical works not so well known as they should be, and best known by his poorest book, "Palissy the Potter"—recently, while working in the British Museum Library, made a "find" which at first view seemed to be of almost the greatest value. He discovered a poem written on the blank leaf of the original edition (1645) of Milton's first collected English and Latin poems, entitled "An Epitaph" and signed J. M., Ober. (October) 1647. The handwriting seemed to Mr. Morley (who, however, does not say that compared it with anything but his recollection of fac-similes of Milton's hand) undoubtedly genuine, and he copied the poem with rejoicing, and sent it to the *Times* with a letter, to which the *Times* gave the honor of leaden type. Unfortunately, the authorities of the Museum, finding that the rush of visitors to see the treasure was becoming inconvenient, held a consultation, examined the autograph, and announced in the *Pall Mall Gazette* that the handwriting was not Milton's and that the signature was not "J. M." but "P. M." There is no appeal, we suppose, from this decision. The following lines are the best of the poem:

"Think not (reader) me less blest
Sleeping in this narrow clif
Than if my ashes d'd lie hid
Under some stately pyramid.
If a rich tombe makes happy yn
That Bee was happier far yn men
Who busie in ye thymie wood
Was fettered by ye golden flood:
Wch fro ye Amber-weeping Tre
Distilleth downe so plenteously;
For so this little wanton Elf
Most gloriously enshind itself
A tombe whose beauty might compare
With Cleopatra's sepulcher.

"Then pass on gently ye yt mourne,
Touch not this mine hollowed Urne
These Ashes wch doe here remaine
A vitall tincture still retaine;
A seminal forme within ye deeps
Of this little chaos sleepes;
The thread of life untwisted is
Into its first existencies;
Infant Nature cradled here
In its principles appeare:
This plant thg [though] entered into dust

In its Ashes rest it must
Until sweet Psyche shall Inspire
A softning and astick fire
And in her fost'ring armes enfold
This Heavy and this earthly mould:
Then, as I am He be no more
But bloome and blossome b . . . [as before]
When this cold namnes shall retreate,
By a more yn Chymick heat."

There is nothing in verses such as these (if we except some poor rhyming and the bad grammar, for rhyme's sake, of one couplet) which Milton should have been very much ashamed to write, though certainly nothing of which he could have been proud; and they are much in his manner. Most probably they are the work of some youthful lover of Milton, who knew by heart the "Il Penseroso" and "L'Allegro."

—Another of "the immortals" is dead, M. Viennet having departed this life the other day in Paris. In this country nothing was known of him, but although of late, in his old age, somewhat out of public view, he once was a very busy and prominent man in the literature and politics of the French capital. He once said of himself that not less than five hundred epigrams were published every year on his person, his features, his poems, his speeches in the Chambers, his tuft of hair rebellious to the comb, and his green surtout. That was back in the Orleanist days, when, in consequence of his prosecution of a newspaper editor for libel and his warm support of Louis Philippe's repressive anti-revolutionary measures, he was decidedly the most unpopular man in France. The love of the Bonapartists he never had, nor they his; the Legitimists could not be very fond of a man who went to the barricades against Charles X., and Louis Philippe's friends were not very numerous. But Viennet was proud of his unpopularity and enjoyed it, being a natural born lover of hot water, and having a fine satirical gift to aid in keeping him constantly quarrelling. Moreover, he spared neither friends nor foes, but impartially gave everybody reason to hate him. He was born, says writer in the London *Times* who knew him personally, either in 1777 or 1771, and, at the youngest, died at the great age of 91. His place of birth was the little town of Beziers, which is said to have had the honor of producing no less than three academicians. At nineteen he became a lieutenant in the marine artillery; he was captured by the English, served on land in Saxony, and was present at Bautzen and Dresden and at Lützen, where he got the cross of the Legion of Honor from the hand of the Emperor and the rank of captain. But he had voted against the life consulate of Napoleon and against the establishment of the Empire, and his success as a soldier was less than it should have been. Indeed, on one occasion the decree for his transportation to Cayenne was actually signed, and he would have been exiled but for the entreaties of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr. St. Cyr got him into the royal staff corps when the Bourbons returned, but he satirized the Bourbons, and when he was made a deputy attacked them and their policy violently, and, of course, caustically. He liked monarchy, but Jesuits he abhorred, he said, and he hated despotism. He was not long in losing his staff appointment. As we have said, he was a warm Orleanist, and Louis Philippe raised him to the peerage in 1840. The controversy between romanticism and classicism in literature engaged a good deal of his attention, which he by no means confined to politics, and he vigorously made himself enemies on both sides. In 1830 he was made an academician, beating Benjamin Constant. To name his literary productions would be to make an immense list of tragedies, comedies, poems, epistles, essays, histories, and whatever else is done in prose or verse. His sarcastic "Fables" in polished verse are considered his best work, but his "Memoirs," which are to come, will no doubt do most to keep his name alive. They can hardly fail to be exceedingly readable.

—The French opposition have been defeated in their endeavor to get a little more freedom for the book-press. They proposed to abolish the office, or suppress the salary, of the chief officer of the Colportage or Hawkers' Commission. M. Rouher defended the existing law, of course; it was horrible, he said, to think of the pedlar opening his pack of ribbons and threads at the cottage-door and then slyly inducing the innocent cottage-girl to buy immoral books and engravings. In fact, the law creating the commission was made in the republican days just after '48, and doubtless was made in the interests of morality, and not for political purposes at all. M. Jules Simon admitted all that M. Rouher had said to be true; he wished it said more strongly, if possible; but the picture drawn by the minister was already to be seen all over France, he said, and it was most certainly in great part the result of the way in which the Colportage Commission discharged its duties. To works of the greatest obscenity the Government will allow its stamp, and is sure to refuse it to works that in any, the most indirect, way are opposed to the administration—even if so indirectly,

as by having the name of a known anti-Imperialist on the title-page; whatever may be the contents of the work, it is wrong, the commission seems to think, to give currency even to the names of the politically evil-disposed. M. Rouher had his majority, however, and did not trouble himself with much argument. The control of the book-press—which in a country, like France, of few bookstores depends for real publication on the hawkers—is a power too valuable for Napoleon to think of giving up.

—The commission appointed by Napoleon III. to publish the letters of his uncle has got as far as the twenty-third volume, which extends only to June, 1812. That this collection, for state reasons, is not complete, is a matter of course; yet it already embraces nearly 19,000 pieces, while the imperial and war-department archives are known to contain 60,000. Heinrich Kurz has undertaken, for Germany, to follow in the steps of the commission, and to cull from this enormous correspondence whatever would interest the general reader, within reasonable limits. One volume has already been published by the Bibliographical Institute of Hildburghausen ("Ausgewählte Correspondenz Napoleon's I"). It includes Bonaparte's reports on his military operations, on his diplomatic negotiations, etc., and ends with the Congress at Rastadt (Dec., 1797). A map of the campaign in Italy is added. The value of this condensed autographic history is so manifest that we have little doubt some English or American publisher will make Herr Kurz's abridgment available to us. But the translator ought to borrow (or purchase) the compiler's judgment only, and give us the English immediately from the French original.

—We find in a late number of the *Weser-Zeitung*—a paper to which we are oftenest indebted for useful information than we can always suitably acknowledge—some valuable statistics concerning the growth and industries of Berlin. And first, the city had 547,000 inhabitants in 1861, and it began the present year with upwards of 702,000, a truly gigantic increase. Trade and manufactures have, however, kept pace with it, so that Berlin promises even in these respects to be the leading city of the kingdom. The cost of living has of course increased, and what it is in detail the following table will show for the three classes whose incomes are (1) 3-400 thalers, (2) 6-800 thalers, (3) 1,000-1,500 thalers. (The value of the thaler is about seventy-five cents.) Any given family will then spend for

	I.	II.	III.
Food,	62	55	50
Clothing,	16	18	18
Rent,	12	12	12
Fuel and light,	5	5	5
Education and religion,	2	3	5
Public security,	1	2	3
Health,	1	2	3
Ease and recreation,	1	2	3
Per cent.,	100	100	100

These figures are borrowed from Dr. Engel, and in remarking on the constant ratio, for all three classes, of the rent, it is stated that the percentage for this item is probably too low and is constantly tending to become higher. Of the North Germans it is said that they will sacrifice eating to decent living, while the South German and the Austrian German give the preference to eating. The wages of trades-people and mechanics, which we have not space to copy in full, seem astonishingly low; bakers, to cite the first instance, get from one to two and a half thalers a week, and in order to earn three, must work nineteen hours a day, including all the night. The highest wages of all are 13 thalers, earned by some machinists. Returning to rent once more, it is observed that the lower the income, the higher the ratio of the rent, as follows:

THALERS.	PER CENT.
1,000-1,500	27.54-23.44
1,600-2,000	22.65-20.56
2,000-2,500	20.18-18.87
2,000-3,000	18.50-17.40
3,100-3,500	17.15-16.25
3,600-4,000	16.05-15.12
25,000-55,000	5.70-3.50
60,000 and upwards	3.00-2.28

For the classes below these there are no data. A similar law holds as to food. Lodging rents were worth in Berlin collectively in 1867 about 19 millions of thalers, on which basis the total income of the citizens would be estimated at about 90 millions; but it is undoubtedly higher.

—"German Art and German Politics" (Deutsche Kunst und Deutsche Politik) is the title of a work by Richard Wagner, whose latest opera, "The Master-singers of Nuremberg," is meeting with so much success in its first representations at Munich. The book is published at Leipzig by

J. J. Weber. It discusses the decline and possible recovery of the German theatre, and urges the displacement of the pernicious influences of French civilization by the German spirit which was newly awakened in the last century by Lessing and Winckelmann, and made illustrious by Goethe and Schiller, by Mozart and Beethoven. The suppression of this spirit was attempted by Napoleon with little success, as a conqueror, but was effected by the German governments themselves, subsequent to his fall, by the fashion which they set of encouraging Italian music and the demoralizing drama of the French in the court theatres. To the same, or rather to the present, authorities Wagner looks for the inauguration of reform, and the conclusion of his work indicates on which one of the German states he relies as a leader. Prussia, he says, has, in obedience to Frederic the Great's prescription, made the German vocation to consist in the pursuit of pure utility. It remains for Bavaria to furnish the model German state, organized on the principle that above all utilitarianism there is an ideal-

RECENT BOOKS ON EARLY ENGLISH.*

STUDENTS of the early English language and literature owe a good deal to each of the authors whose names stand below, and may expect to owe them a good deal more. Dr. Stratmann, close upon the appearance of the last seventh of his dictionary—which has but just made its way to America—has published an edition of that remarkable specimen of Saxon English, of equal value to poetry and philology, the “Owl and the Nightingale.”

Eduard Mätzner is the author of a scientific English grammar, very elaborate and of high excellence. As for Mr. Morris, his activity has for some years kept spectators in perpetual and increasing astonishment. He has especially devoted himself to the difficult subject of the dialects of the Old English, and has edited, for the Philological Society or the English Text Society, half a dozen works of the first consequence, all hitherto either unknown or inaccessible, and as many more are in the press or in his desk. All this he has done while filling the post of a national schoolmaster, a sort of place from which we in America have seen little come but elementary arithmetics, common-school geographies, and grammars which disgust advanced scholars not less than they do the unhappy children who are compelled by school committees to study them.

Mr. Morris's “Specimens of Early English” forms one of the already favorably known series of works put forth by the University of Oxford in the interest of improved education. The book is perhaps beyond the present range of our high schools; but the want of something like it has been long felt in those of our colleges where an attempt has been made to study the English language. In Yale and Harvard, for instance, the elements of Anglo-Saxon have been taught for many years; but when the Saxon reading-book was finished, classes have been obliged to jump three hundred years of the subject and come down to Chaucer. The gap could be filled only by books not commonly found even in our libraries, some of them bulky and expensive, some exceedingly expensive and exceedingly rare. To speak more exactly, it could not be filled at all, since several most important works till lately existed only in manuscript, and several others are still in that state. Mr. Morris and the directors of the Clarendon Press have now furnished us a book as handy and as pretty as possible, which all but bridges the chasm. The Semi-Saxon period remains unprovided for, the “Specimens” beginning with the year 1250; but this deficiency is partly supplied by Thorpe's “Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,” which gives a few extracts from Layamon and the least bit of the “Ornulum.” The “Analecta” has this year been reprinted, and had a dozen or twenty pages of Orm been added, that book, with Vernon's or Thorpe's edition of Rask's grammar, would afford a very sufficient introduction to the study of Early English. And here it may as well be said that no satisfactory study of English can be made except in the historical order. Without some acquaintance with Saxon grammar the reader of these “Specimens” will frequently be puzzled, and always be slavishly dependent on the editor; whereas with a knowledge of the original forms, such as can be acquired in a fortnight, and such a stock of words as could be got by reading Thorpe's little book, he would be prepared to surmount many difficulties without any help, and to perceive many more, of which he would otherwise have absolutely no conception.

Mr. Morris has prefixed to his “Selections” an introduction, containing a few useful remarks on the principal dialects of Early English, the north-

* “Specimens of Early English, selected from the chief English authors, A.D. 1250-1400, with Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary.” By R. Morris, Esq. Oxford, 1867. Clarendon Press Series.

“Altenglische Sprachproben, nebst einem Wörterbuche, unter Mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck, herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Erster Band: Sprachproben. Erste Abtheilung: Poesie.” Berlin, 1867. [For sale by L. W. Schmidt, New York.]

“A Dictionary of the Old English Language. Compiled from Writings of the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries. By Francis Henry Stratmann.” Krefeld, 1864-1867.

ern, midland, and southern, and the outlines of Early English grammar. The grammatical outlines, which are based on the southern dialect (with notices of the more important divergences of the others), are to be received with some caution. We are not ourselves in a position to assert that these outlines do not represent, in a general way, the facts of the grammar of the southern English; but the subject is very difficult, and requires an investigation both patient and wary, which, indeed, Mr. Morris may have made, and which we certainly have not made. Be this only said here—that it is antecedently improbable that the grammar from 1200 to 1400 can be faithfully and profitably exhibited in so brief a synopsis, and that any one may see at a glance that the account given by Mr. Morris of the language of Chaucer, in his “Selections from Chaucer” (published in the same Clarendon Series), differs in many points from the grammar of the “Specimens.”

The selections are made with judgment and are very entertaining reading. The notes are on the whole very good, and so is the glossary, though both would be better if less brief. For the editing, so far as concerns literary or historical introductions to the various pieces and the rectification of the texts, there is next to none. Sometimes the texts are printed off from books without attention to punctuation, and in this way the reader is exposed to falling into many a pit. This comes from too much haste, to which cause, without admitting any excuse, we may also attribute the continual acceptance of impossible readings without a word for or against. Now and then, but not often, haste leads to a false gloss, as where *y-primisined*, p. 126 (from *primsigner*, *prasignare*, to make the sign of the cross before or over anything), is explained “dressed, covered.” We must, moreover, express an opinion that pieces of Latin original like the metrical English Psalter ought not to be put forward as representing any stage of English, unless they are accompanied by the Latin texts, which they translate with amazing servility.

The “Altenglische Sprachproben,” we are both sorry and glad to say, so much as we have of it, is a much better piece of work than Morris's “Specimens.” It is also on a large scale. We have only the first half of the reading book as yet, containing verse only. It goes further back than the English book (to Layamon), and comes a little further down. If the second part of the first volume is to be as large as the part we have, the German book will contain twice as much text as the English. Then the editing is simply admirable. The introductions to the selections (by Karl Goldbeck) leave nothing to be desired, neither do the notes, which are copious, learned, and altogether masterly, and show a thorough familiarity with English both old and new. The criticism of the text is properly attended to, and is conducted with due caution but without superstition. There is to be a glossary (in which part Goldbeck is to help), which is not to be limited to the words contained in the selections, but to cover the whole field of Old English, and to take cognizance both of the etymology and of the historical development of the meanings of words.

The editor of the “Sprachproben” expresses a modest hope that English scholars “will pardon a stranger who, disclaiming all title to share their merits, ventures to take part in their labors.” This gives us an awkward feeling, but we shall perhaps get used by-and-by to being beaten by Germans in our own line.

Stratmann's dictionary is a conscientious and able work, and cannot well be dispensed with in studying the other two books. The author had insufficient materials, which accounts for many omissions, though it does not explain the neglect of words of the Latin stock. It is a handsome book, and no press sends out handsomer books now than the German. But the author will allow us to regret that he does not set more value on the ordinary typographical expedients; that he has not facilitated the finding of words by printing his vocabulary in full-faced type, after the fashion of that beautiful volume, Burguy's “Glossaire de la Langue d'Oil”; and that he shows some of the indifference to paragraphs and capitals which is so inconvenient in the books of Jacob Grimm of glorious memory.

MR. CRAFCROFT'S ESSAYS.*

THIS book very well illustrates the strength and pretty well illustrates the weakness of the contemporary newspaper *littérateur*, or literary journalist, whose journal is of a high class. Read the well-written essay with which the second volume opens, “The Jews of Western Europe,” and it is at once made plain that the writer is producing work intended, or at any rate destined, to serve only some momentary purpose. Furthermore, one suspects that he is not so familiar with his subject as to be capable

* “Essays, Political and Miscellaneous. By Bernard Cracroft, M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb.” 2 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

of producing anything in relation to it that shall have any claim to authority or permanence. It is the journalist turning out historical papers, for the preparation of which he has not fitted himself, who talks about Jews brought back from Babylonia to Jerusalem "by Esdras in the time of Cyrus." It most certainly is not the careful historical student who talks so. The Esdras or Ezra whom Mr. Cracroft means was not contemporary with Cyrus; the event referred to took place fully fifty years after the death of Cyrus. In the same way fault is to be found with the author when he tells us of "1,500,000 men—an American army"—as having been lost "in the war against Titus." Where, we wonder, are we to get our due allowance of wounded for all these "dead"? and where in all Palestine are we to look, when "the war against Titus" is over, for one adult Jew? A million and a half of men must have been the entire adult male population of Judea at that time. Somehow or other, too, Mr. Cracroft gets his million and a half of dead men all into the city of Jerusalem. And where, let us ask, would one find the "Cosri" of Judah Levy? There is the "Cosri," or "Khusari," of Judah Hallevi Ha-Levi (The Levite), which is the book meant by Mr. Cracroft, and, as regards the general description of its contents, accurately enough described by him. From the same source, or one equally untrustworthy, Mr. Cracroft must have got his information that Doctor Jost's great work—"the fullest account, by a modern Jew, both of the modern and ancient history of his nation," "eloquently written, and conceived with considerable historical and political vigor of thought"—is the work entitled "Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten." The description is well enough, but it applies to another work; that work of Doctor Jost's by reason of which he merits the encomium above quoted, the one which has the undoubted right to be called his "great" work, is not the "Geschichte des Judenthums," but the "Geschichte der Israeliten" (9 vols., 1820-28, and 3 vols., 1846-47). Literary work similar to this as respects accuracy grows more and more common in current literature, the most usual exhibition of it being made in the periodical press. As the periodical press is rapidly supplanting the mere book press, and daily more and more exclusively supplies the literature for the reading public taken by and large, it is of importance that something should be done to hold writers for magazines and newspapers to a sense of their obligation to pretend to no knowledge which is not theirs, and to write not too hastily, true though it is that they write for hasty readers, for the subjects over-boldly taken up are often handled with a carelessness not in consonance with the character of the truly industrious and conscientious worker in literature. This, as we began by saying, happens in the case of men so clever as we know Mr. Cracroft to be, and so honest and honorable as we easily presume him to be, despite the fact that his work is disfigured by the fault which vitiates the whole class of work to which it belongs.

But we have had so much decided pleasure from the reading of these two volumes that we would far rather discharge the duty of praising than the other duty imposed upon us. The essays contained in them are of three general kinds—political articles, in all of which the author appears as a Gladstonian Liberal, and from which a very good view of the state of English parties may be got; secondly, literary criticisms, sometimes very brief, and never long; thirdly, essays, mostly from the *Saturday Review*, of the kind called "social articles," because minor moralizing is done in them. Some idea of the range of the essays may be got from these titles: "Conington's *Aeneid*," "Tyndall on Sound," "Hiawatha translated into Latin," "Dreamthorp," "Ovid as a Possible Satirist," "Madame de Sévigné," "The Reform Session," "Cruelty," "Landladies and Laundresses," "County Balls," "Englishmen's Arguments."

We do not know that we should set the essays of one of the three classes above-mentioned higher than those of the other two in point of merit. The literary execution is the same throughout. The author's style is of the unaffected, unelaborate sort common in the best English papers. It is a style as different as possible in effect from the Macaulayism of the *Times*, for instance, and indeed from any deliberately made style whatsoever, whether good or bad; as a general thing, it is most like the unconscious talk of a well-educated man who is tolerably indifferent to the literary graces, so he speaks his mind. And no matter what may be the topic treated of, the pleasure Mr. Cracroft gives the reader will almost invariably be the same in kind and pretty nearly the same in degree; so, at any rate, we find ourselves believing of him after finishing his book, or when we come upon him in the *Spectator* or the *Saturday Review*. He is a subtle and acute analyzer of persons and things into their ultimate elements; "insight" is his most marked characteristic as a critic whether of books or manners, and certainly that quality or that combination of qualities that goes by the now almost slang name of insight he has in a very high degree. It has him sometimes, instead of he it, and there are several amusing dis-

plays in the volume before us of the over-refining in which he sometimes indulges himself, letting his subtlety of discrimination, his ingenuity in the division of hairs, run away with his judgment, and wanton uncorrected by his imagination or sympathies, and apparently not always kept very tight in hand by his love of truth-seeking. "Man and Bee" illustrates this. We will cite an example of its work when well employed. "The Worldly Wisdom of Bacon" is the theme suggested to him by a new edition of the "Essays," and the problem he sets himself to study is the contrast between the elevation of Bacon's speculative genius and the meanness of his spirit as made manifest in much of his practice and of his writing:

"What we feel very strongly," says Mr. Cracroft, by way of solving this question, "is that until we can place ourselves in the peculiar focus of his own familiar position, and of the personal relations of the great family of statesmen who then lived round the English throne, occupied by an able, crafty, and conceited—a vacillating and dangerous woman, whose word could and did decide the fate of any one or more of them, we cannot rightly judge the exact standard of Bacon's worldly wisdom."

And this remark he makes in development of the same idea:

"At no time probably in English history was the individual personality of the leading men, in contradistinction to the operation of representative class action, so highly developed—statesmen, orators, poets, historians, courtiers, soldiers, and sailors, the very queens, unfolded their separate powers, and acted upon one another with an individuality, an eagerness, an intensity of feeling, which it is almost impossible to contemplate without astonishment. Hence the absorbing interest, the passionate attention of such men as Bacon to details of court influence, which at this distance seem mean, petty, and trivial, but which at the time were, no doubt, felt to be vitally connected with the great interests of the day. Hence, too, perhaps, the heat and turgescence of the Elizabethan style."

With the following application of his principle he closes the case—having done some very good essay writing of the weekly-paper sort—that is to say, worked out nothing very fully, but given in brief space many suggestions of real value:

"So again, although in his 'Essays' it may be impossible to recover in all cases the trace of personal influences on his language and speculation, this personal element is sometimes very observable, as, for instance, in the essay on 'Beauty.' It is true this essay, Mr. Wright tells us, was first published in 1612; but the tone of it is so hampered, and contrasts so strangely with the gaudy and luminous discursiveness of the other essays, that we can hardly resist the feeling that he wrote it in the lifetime of Elizabeth, long before it was published, with her dread before his eyes, equally afraid of writing and of not writing upon the subject, and equally concerned what to say and what to leave unsaid. For instance, he begins most of his other essays with the direct mention of the thing he is about to discuss. His essay on 'Truth' begins, 'What is Truth?' on 'Death,' 'Men fear Death,' and so on; but when he comes to talk of 'Beauty,' he starts on the safer theme of Virtue, or, as we should say, Merit. 'Virtue,' he begins, with Machiavellian caution, 'is like a rich stone, best plane set. Scowl not, Elizabeth, and fear not, James, most meritorious but plainest fool in Christendom! For Elizabeth, surely, virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features' (!) And that hath rather 'Dignity of Presence than Beauty . . . of Aspect.' Elizabeth conceived she had both. And be of good comfort, James, for 'neither is it almost seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue.' Again, 'in beauty, that of favour (feature) is more than that of colour, and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour.' James flattered himself that his motions were very decent and gracious, and, in fact, that he moved right royally. How different is the trimming tone of this essay from the hard, cold, analytic brutal dissection of deformity: 'Deformed persons are commonly even with Nature. For as Nature hath done ill by them, so do they by Nature; being for the most part void of natural affection. And so they have their revenge of Nature.' The essay proceeds with masterly precision and acumen, and we recommend our readers to compare the two for their own edification."

Of the application of this same quality to matters of literature take this example, rather long but well worth reading. He declines to believe Ovid a merely licentious poet:

"If any one supposes that Ovid, a man of the most cultivated and versatile apprehension, the most perfect master of a delicately perfected tongue—that is to say, a man of such exquisite susceptibility that he was more than almost all his contemporaries alive to every breath of human emotion treasured up in a highly artificial language—that such a man, living in a state of society so civilized that all its thoughts are still in the direct line of our own, could write gravely that Venus had given him as a tutor to her little boy, at a time when Venus was believed in, as a deity, quite as much, to say the least, as the Virgin Mary now is in France or Italy, and yet not see the fun and irony of what he wrote; to suppose, in other words, that he was only heaping up mere conventional imagery, like an Eton boy, is to be dead to the very first conditions of living authorship. Will any one believe that a man like Ovid would think it worth his while to say gravely of the youth Cupid—

"Ætas mollis et apta regi!"

—in other words, that Ovid was a Roman Martin Tupper? It may, of course, be quite impossible to recover the exact shade of irony which these and similar lines suggested to Roman readers. We can only reason from

analogy, and, judging from our own contemporary experience, arrive at the moral certainty that the irony, whatever it is, is there. What can be more in the very style of ironical exhortation than the lines?

*Nec tibi vitetur, que, priscis sparsa tabellis,
Porticus auctoris Livia nomen habet:
Quaque parare necem miseric patruelibus asum
Belldies, et stricto stat ferus ense pater.
Nec te prateat Veneri ploratus Adonis
Cuitaque Judeo septima sacra Syro,¹ etc.*

"These lines are in the very spirit of one of Mr. Thackeray's ironical admonitions, perfectly pleasant, paternal, and grave, blinking nothing, without a shrug, without a wink, perfectly good-humored, but in substance all the more vitriolic. 'Be sure,' he says, '[in your amatory pursuits] not to neglect the picture gallery. It bears the name of Livia. Livia founded it. There you will see the Danalids conspiring the death of their wretched cousins' (admirable subject to inspire amatory pursuits!) 'and their barbarous father holding in his hand a naked sword. Nor don't forget the festival of Adonis wept by Venus, nor the Sabbath of the Jews. Don't be too particular and turn up your nose at the temple of the heifer of Memphis. . . . Well (as Mr. Thackeray would have said), she only makes of others what Jupiter made of her,' etc., etc. To suppose that Ovid wrote all this as an Etonian strings nonsense verses together without further meaning, would be a supposition extremely befitting the ordinary run of commentators. No man with the least insight into the literature of his own time would think it even possible. In our time the Latin tongue is dead, with all its allusions and associations as a living language. But in Ovid's time it vibrated all over like our own. But we have no space to pursue the subject beyond the suggestion."

Of course in the discovery and marking of fine distinctions the author is obliged to use a style often different in diction from ordinary talk, and, so far, what we have said of his manner is to be qualified; but this leaves it still very possible to say absolutely what we have said of his general manner.

We have spared ourselves the labor of speaking long in his praise by letting his book speak for itself; but we will close by heartily recommending it to the attention of our readers. It seems to us the least ephemeral of the many similar works that we have recently seen. We have in mind particularly the literary judgments, or literary suggestions, with which it abounds. As for the political matter, much of that is of course of only temporary interest, though again much of it is valuable as being historical information in regard to a troubled time in English politics. And leaving aside the author's scholarship, the display of acumen exercised—exercised as it is here on interesting subjects—ought alone to secure for Mr. Crocker a good and large American audience. Messrs. Lippincott's proof-reader, we feel compelled to say—or somebody's proof-reader; we have not seen the English edition, of which this may be an unchanged part, made abroad with Lippincott's imprint,—somebody's proof-reader, we say, ought to be dealt with severely.

Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik. Für den allgemeinen praktischen Bedarf. (Hand-book of Comparative Statistics for General Practical Use.) Von G. Fr. Kolb. Fifth edition. (Leipzig: Arthur Felix. New York: L. W. Schmidt.)—Herr Kolb is already well known, both in his own country and in England, as an able essayist upon finance and politico-economical subjects. The value of the present work is best shown by the fact that it has run through five editions since its first appearance in 1856. It contains full and admirably arranged tables upon everything relating to finance, government, trade, education, etc., throughout the globe. Germany receives, of course, the largest share of attention, but the reader will find that Great Britain, France, and the United States are treated with great fidelity and fulness; indeed, with a thoroughness which it would be vain to look for in any other treatise of the same size. The Germany treated of is the new Germany—the creation of the military events of 1866. Part V., entitled "General Surveys," with its inter-European and Asiatic comparisons, its historical *résumés* and mixed notices, is replete with interesting information. The highest praise that can be paid to any statistical work is to ascribe to it accuracy, completeness, and perspicacity of arrangement. The work before us is deserving of such praise. To those who are conversant with German it will prove a perfect *vade mecum* in writing upon general topics which involve accuracy in the statement of facts and figures. We can only hope that it will soon be rendered available to the non-German public through the instrumentality of a translation. American statistics, we may also observe in conclusion, are given by the author with many qualifications, which, we suppose, are only too well founded. The science of figures has not yet got much beyond its infancy in this country, and we may well feel some sympathy with the foreign statistician who endeavors to reduce order out of the chaos of Federal and State censuses, and to keep pace with a country where towns grow up over night, as it were, and whose railroads are constructed at railroad speed.

Lilliput Levee. Poems of Childhood, Child-fancy, and Child-like Moods. (New York: Wynkoop & Sherwood. 1868.)—The pretty little poem called "Polly" appeared first, with its illustration by Millais, in *Once a Week*, some eight years ago.

"Brown eyes,
Straight nose;
Dirt pies,
Rumpied clothes;"

it begins, introducing the little girl to us with pleasant abruptness; and, after a dozen stanzas, it thus bids farewell to her:

"Bedgown white,
Kiss Dolly;
Good night!
That's Polly."

"Fast asleep,
As you see;
Heaven keep
My girl for me."

And it is the best poem, by far, in the little book which contains it now, "Lilliput Levee," a collection published in London a year or more ago, and recently republished here. Not that it is the best poem for children. The book does not seem to us very well adapted to children's wants or fancies. It would be hard to interest them in any of these verses except "Topsy-Turvy World" and two or three other bits of pure nonsense with a jingle, and now and then a laugh, in them. The rest of it is rather for grown people to trifle with than for ungrown people to enjoy. In the course of it, however, several good stories are told by the clever author. "The Whispering Boy and his Wonderful Toy" is a pleasant fancy; and the well-known tale of the Apostle Peter and the cherries is given in fairly good verse. "Stalky Jack" is really funny, and "Prince Philibert" has good lines and pretty turns of thought. But with all the fondness one may have for children's books, the few pages of interest in this one would not save it when weeding-day comes. To cut out "Polly" and "Stalky Jack," and put them in a scrap-book, is, we believe, what we should advise.

The little square book of *Poems Written for a Child by Two Friends* (New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons) is very much more to our taste, though still far from the ideal children's book. As children get to be seven years old and to read pretty well, this book will do to give them, with others, and contains much that can be read to them profitably even before that age, if read with explanations. "Little Pat and the Parson" is good, and the petition to the butterfly perhaps better; and there are many of the poems which we have read with a certain pleasure, which, however, children would hardly care for. They lack directness and plain meaning, that is, in their subject-matter and in the sequence of thought, for the style is generally simple. "Old Donald," for instance, is the making of a pleasant poem enough, but its indirect and roundabout course of thought wearisome, and would necessarily drive young folks away. So "The Wives of Brixham" and "Little Pat and the Parson" are tales which ought to be delightful to little people of seven or eight, but they are not well put together, at least for that audience. On the whole, the "Poems Written for a Child" is a pretty good book to get and try; here and there a poem of it may well be found to please a child. But the "Lilliput Levee" is not for children.

Burns's Poetical Works Complete. With a Life of the Author. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.)—The Appletons have given us in this edition a "Burns" exactly uniform with the "Scott" of which we spoke a week or two ago. There are six hundred and twelve good-looking, large-print pages, containing the complete poetical works, good, bad, and indifferent, from "Tam O'Shanter" and "Willie Brewed a Peck o' Maut," and "Bonnie Leslie," down to the country-side epigrams and the things in Shenstone's English. Besides all this, there is an abridgment of Doctor Currie's life of the poet and several very full indexes, which make it easy to refer to the particular piece wanted. The glossary is scattered along at the foot of the pages, a plan of arranging it which involves repetitions, for which, however, the average reader will not be unthankful. Let us say that some of the "Miscellaneous Pieces lately Collected" would have been all the better for a fuller dictionary. The edition is absolutely unpurgated, and this we think a mistake. We admit that it is a valid distinction which is drawn between clean dirt and dirty dirt, and that Burns's dirtiness is not of the worse kind. Still, he wrote things that nobody is any the better for reading. This fifty-cent edition will go everywhere, and be read by people of all ages. It is of no consequence that such readers should have given them the materials for making such a study of Burns as to know just what he was, where strong and where weak; they could not and would not use the

materials to any purpose. But that they should not be corrupted morally is of vast consequence. To be sure, in the case of Burns, the bane is accompanied by the antidote; we get the love for nature, the hearty fun, the indignation at various forms of meanness, the stout-heartedness, the charity, the beauty offered us for contemplation. But all this we might have had, and had unalloyed, if the publishers had so chosen, and we are compelled to express a wish that they had.

The Story of a Round Loaf. Thirty-two Engravings on Wood from Designs from E. Froment. (London: Seely, Jackson & Halliday.)—A charming little book for children, which one goes through, even when "showing the pictures" to a child, in a quarter of an hour, but which will bear re-reading and much looking at. It is a French book translated into English, but any child who is familiar with those crusty loaves in the shape of rings which the French bakers affect will enjoy it as if in his own vernacular. The story is told by pictures with a legend to each. It shows how little Louis walked from his father's bakehouse to Mr. Froment's dwelling with a round loaf, how the loaf bothered him, and how

he tried all sorts of ways of carrying it, and what scrapes it got into, and how it got to its destination, but not uninjured. All this is very pleasant and very well told, and a nice book to give to bright children of four we have not seen this year.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.	Publisher.—Price.
Bibliothèque Nationale, swd.	(Paris) \$0 12
Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire.	
Fontenelle, Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes.	
Molière, Le Misanthrope, Les Femmes Savantes.	
D'Alembert, Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie.	
Montesquieu, Considérations sur les causes de la Grandeur des Romains et de leur Décadence.	
Burns (R.), Poetical Works, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 0 50
Dickens (C.), Nicholas Nickleby, Martin Chuzzlewit, and American Notes, one vol.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1 75
Knight (C.), Shilling Shakespeare, swd.	(Geo. Routledge & Sons) 0 60
Marriatt (Capt.), Midshipman Easy, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 0 40
Milton (J.), Poetical Works.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1 50
Mühlbach (L.), Goethe and Schiller, an historical Romance.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 2 00
Norton (C. B.) and Valentine (W. J.), Report to the U. S. Government on the Munitions of War at the Paris Exposition.	(Army & Navy Journal) 2 00
Sarmiento (D. F.), Life in the Argentine Republic.	(Hurd & Houghton) 0 25
Scott (Sir W.), The Monastery, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 0 25
Heart of Mid Lothian, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 0 25

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Returns of Premiums and expenses.....	\$1,305,865 93

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Assets, July 1, 1868, - - - - - \$1,558,567 73

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Is It Honest?

THE Wheeler & Wilson Company, jealous of the high honors conferred on the Grover & Baker machines at the Paris Exhibition, are publishing the following letter and introduction thereto, with the evident intent to create a doubt in the public mind as to the genuineness of our claim to the highest award for our machines at that Exhibition:

CAUTION.**"IS IT HONEST?"**

Apropos to the advertised claim of the Grover & Baker Company to the highest award, read the following:
To the Editor of the Daily Courier.

SIR: That the public may not be misled, I desire to state that the machines of the Grover & Baker manufacture were not exhibited, and, consequently, not tested at all, at the Paris Exhibition.

CHAS. W. MUZIO,
Manager of the Grover & Baker Salesroom,
150 Regent Street, London, July 2, 1867.

The following letter, written a short time after by Mr. Muzio, exposes the deception practised by the Wheeler & Wilson Company to sustain their business.

GROVER & BAKER S. M. CO.

Office of the GROVER & BAKER SEWING MACHINE CO.,
150 Regent Street, W. London, Aug. 7, 1867.

DEAR SIR: I now know the exact position of the Paris Exhibition awards. Neither Wheeler & Wilson nor Howe took a medal on *Sewing Machines*; the former took it on button-hole machines, and the latter for the utility of his original invention. Mr. Goodwin, our representative at Paris, being a member of the jury, was "*hors concours*," as the French have it; or, in our language, "*could not compete*"; but the superiority of the machines he represented was fully recognized by his receiving the *Cross of the Legion of Honor*, considered of far more worth than any gold medal.

In the spring I happened, in a letter to Mr. Goodwin, to ask him if he intended to exhibit, and his reply was that he did not think it worth while. This misled me, and it was upon this information that I wrote the letter of July 2d to the newspapers. I did not know for several days afterwards that Mr. G. had exhibited and taken the decoration.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. W. MUZIO.

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